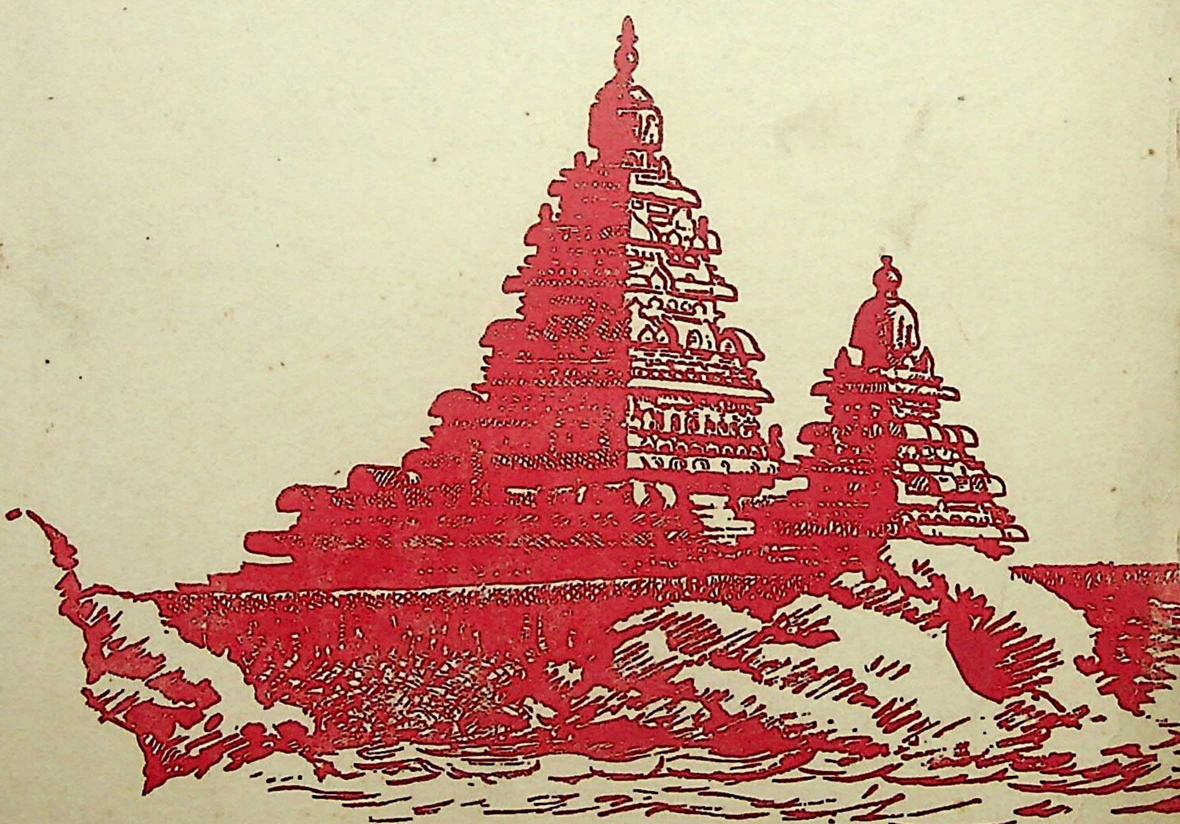
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Editors

G. C. Tripathi

Maya Malaviya



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The sketch on the cover shows a Shore Temple of Mahabalipuram (7th century A.D.).

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PRAVARTAKATVA : AN URGING FACTOR

(as explained by Ānandabodha)

NALINEE CHAPEKAR

Bombay

The point of 'instrumentality' or urging factor to act (*pravartakatva*) in an 'injunctive sentence' has been the subject of much controversy among the Bhāṭṭas, Prābhākaras and Vedāntins. An account of this discussion as put forward in the works of Ānandabodha, the Advaita-Vedāntist of 1050 A.D.–1100 A.D., and his conclusion that the *iṣṭasādhanatā* is the only *pravartaka*, has been presented in this paper.

It is a common experience that a sentence of an injunctive type a *vidhi* urges the person addressed to activity. How do these spoken words, forming a sentence, urge a person to activity is a matter of dispute among the different systems of Indian Philosophy. Children hear the words spoken by their elders and also observe the consequential activity and thus realise the power and import of words. In the practical life words of the elders and in the religio-philosophical fields, words of the scriptures are regarded as the means of knowledge. *Veda-prāmāṇya* is unquestionably and unexceptionally accepted by all the six systems of Indian Philosophy. However, what is the import of the scriptures and how do *Vedas* urge the person are the questions for which different answers are given. After the ninth century, when the creative period of the philosophical systems is over, and the

siddhāntas were established, there occurred hair-splitting discussions on subtle points and authors were busy with attacking and criticising the opponents' views and defending their own views. *Pravartakatva* is also a subtle point, which was discussed by Bhāṭṭas, Prābhākaras and Vedāntins. Ānandabodha (1050—1100 A.D.)[1] was an author of Advaita-Vedānta and had three books to his credit viz. the *Nyāyamakaranda*, the *Pramāṇamālā* and the *Nyāyadīpāvali*. The last two books are smaller ones, of the type of the *prakaraṇagranthas*. The *Nyāyamakaranda*[2] (*NM*) is the main work of Ānandabodha. Here he discusses important philosophical problems and makes clear the position of Advaita Vedānta by criticising the views of the opponents. The Prābhākara Mīmāmsakas appear to be the main opponents of Ānandabodha. For the present topic—the *Pravartakatva*—Ānandabodha mentions the views of the Prābhākara Mīmāṃsakas as explained by Śālikanātha in his *Prakaraṇa pañcikā*.[3] (PP). The views of some other schools also are mentioned in this connection.

According to the Vedānta the *pravartakatva* of an injunctive sentence consists in *iṣṭasādhanatā,* the instrumentality with reference to desired object. The Prābhākara Mīmāṃsakas think that *niyoga* conveyed by the injunctive affix is the cause of activity. The Bhāṭṭas state that the operative activity *vyāpāra*—of an injunctive affix, which is

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1. vide: My article 'Ānandabodha: Life, date and works', *JAS*, Bombay, 1982..

2. *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series* No. 38, 62, 87 and 117, 1907.

3. *Banaras Hindu University Darśana Series* No. 4, ed. by Subrahmanya Sastri, 1961.

not expressed—*anabhihita* is the cause of activity. *Abhidheya-vyāpāra, abhidhā, bhāvārtha-bodha, phala-bodha, rāga* are some other factors mentioned as *pravartaka*. These views, however, do not deserve much consideration. No where is seen either the word or their functions being the cause of the activity of any being, since it is the understanding of the meaning of the word that really urges a person to act. Similarly the knowledge of the meaning of the root—*bhāvārtha*, or of the reward—*phala* are not seen as the *pravartaka*. The desire-*rāga-actually*, causes the activity of a person, but is not expressed by the word and hence cannot be accepted as *pravartaka*.

The view of Śālikanātha :

As action enjoys an important position in the Mīmāṃsā philosophy, the Prābhākaras accept *kārya* as the *pravartaka*. This *kārya* is a technical term and it includes all the orders and requests in practical life that are seen urging a person to act. *Kārya* is defined as the chief thing—*pradhāna*—to be achieved through action, the motive of the efforts—*kṛtisādhya-pradhānam*. There are two factors in this definition of *kārya* viz. *kṛti-pradhānatā* and *kṛti-sādhyatā*. *Kṛti-pradhānatā*, the chief thing to be achieved through action is nothing but *kṛti-prayojanatā*, being the aim of that action and this is understood by mental perception—*mānasāvaseya*. While *kṛti-sādhyatā*, the possibility of being accomplished through action, is realised by the law of absence and presence, governing the action and its aim, and thus is understood by inference—*anumānasamadhigamanīya*. This *kārya* in this manner, is understood by two *pramāṇas* viz. perception and inference. There is no conflict between these two pramāṇas since rice is grasped through perception

and its possibility of use in cooking by inference.[4] A child after knowing 'this is my *kārya*' undertakes the activity, that is likely to accomplish it. The activity of a baby towards breast-feeding is also due to the grasping of *kārya*.

In the practical life, for example, the sentence 'Caitra bring water' is seen as urging Caitra to the activity of bringing water. The injunctive affix—*liṅ*—expresses *kārya* and the other words in the sentence express their own meanings as connected with this *kārya*. In the injunctive sentences like *agnihotram juhuyāt svargakāmaḥ* in the Veda, the injunctive affix, on account of its relation to the word *svargakāma* indicates *apūrva*, something new, not known before.[5]

In the sentence *agnihotram juhuyāt svargakāmaḥ* the word *svargakāmaḥ* expresses neither the reward—*phala* i.e. *svarga* nor the agent of that action, but indicates the person, directed for that *kārya*. A person who recognises the *kārya* as his own, is called *niyojya*, directed for that *kārya*. The *kārya* is named as *niyoga* since it provides an incentive to that person and makes him put forth an exertion towards the activity.[6] It is *niyoga* that lasts till the *phala* takes place. This *niyoga*, in this manner, is of the nature of a link between the action, performed in the present and which ceases to exist immediately on its performance; and the *phala* that is obtained in future. *Niyoga* is related to *niyojya*, the

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4. *kṛtisādhyam pradhānam yat tat kāryam abhidhīyate /*
tat ca mānāntareṇa api vedyam odanapākavat // pp. 431

5. *kriyādibhinnam yat kāryam, vedyam mānāntaraiḥ na tat /*
*ato mānāntarāpūrvam apūrvam abhidhīyate //*pp p. 441

6. *kāryatvena niyojyam ca svātmani prerayan asau /*
niyoga iti mīmāṃsā niṣṇātaiḥ abhidhīyate // pp p. 441

person directed for that action, being the source of his desired object and is related to *phala,* being the immediate cause of it. *Phala* is one of the factors that are necessary to make up the full character of *niyoga.* This relation between *niyoga* and *phala* can be compared to the relation between the master and the servant. Without the servant the master cannot be a true master, and yet it is the master that is more important person of the two. Similarly *phalas,* like *svarga* and others, though oblige *niyoga,* being the end of the action, *niyoga* really is more important than *svarga* like the master. *Niyoga* is, therefore, accepted as the meaning of the sentence as a whole.[7] The word *svargakāmaḥ* has a double purpose. It indicates the person, eligible to undertake the activity, as well as the reward, *phala* of that activity. It, thus, proves the existence of *apūrva* or *niyoga* which is the link, joining the two ends, the activity and the reward. The *apūrva,* therefore, is accepted as the meaning of injunctive sentences.

The view of Ānandabodha :

According to the Advaita Vedānta, *iṣṭa-sādhanatā* is the *pravartaka.* The definition of *iṣṭa-sādhanatā* was rendered by Vācaspatimiśra, while commenting on the *Vidhiviveka* of Maṇḍanamiśra, as follows—'The injunction conveys *iṣṭa-sādhanatā* as intimately connected with the prominent meaning of an action to be performed.' *kartavyatā-ekārthasamavāyinī samīhita-sādhanatā vidhiḥ.* / *NM* p. 197. Ānandabodha explains that there are two factors in this definition, namely *kṛti-sādhyatā* and *ekārthasamavāyitā.* The first one *kṛti-sādhyatā* excludes the objects, already accomplished e.g. the rain on a dry land, which is the result of *karīrīṣṭi* performed

7. *Kāryasya eva pradhānatvāt vākyārthatvam ca yujyate* /
vākyam tadeva hi prāha niyojya-viṣayānvitam / / pp p. 441

by the sacrificer, is also desirable to the farmers. But farmers are not directed to perform that *iṣṭi* as it is not obtainable *kṛtisādhya* by them. The other *ekārthasamavāyitā* intimately connected with *kartavyatā* limits the field of *iṣṭasādhanatā*. For, objects in future like the final reward and others, though are *kṛtisādhya* obtainable by efforts, yet are not intimately connected with *kartavyatā*.

It is true that mere knowledge of *iṣṭa-sādhanatā,* without desire cannot become *pravartaka* e.g. with mere understanding of the instrumentality of a bath into Ganges, with reference to heaven, no one without the necessary desire would be inclined towards it. The *phala* is not real *phala* if it is not the object of desire.[8] It is, therefore, argued that *iṣṭa-sādhanatā* is useful, only in creating a desire. Here Ānandabodha explains that mere desire for *phala* is unable to urge anyone to activity, if the knowledge of instrumentality is absent. *Iṣṭa-sādhanatā* thus has to be accepted as *pravartaka,* for *desire,* though, is seen to urge activity is not the meaning of the word—*śabdārtha*.

Iṣṭa-sādhanatā creats desire. This desire can be seen in connection with the accomplished objects as well. As, for example, a tired person desires for the rise of the moon, thinking it as the cause of happiness. In such cases the object of desire is not obtainable by effort. Hence the attribute *kṛtisādhyatā* in the definition is essential. This attribute though does not directly become the *pravartaka,* assists the cause of *pravartaka* by avoiding the obstacles in between, caused by time and the like.

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8. *na ca antareṇa abhilāṣa-gocarībhāvam phalatā* /NM p. 199

Criticism of Śālikanātha's view :

Having explained his own position Ānandabodha takes the task of refuting the views of the opponents. He starts with the very definition of *kāryatā* and explains the *prādhānya* with reference to *kṛti* towards which it is directed, would be applicable only either to *phala*—reward or to its *sādhana*—instrument, and not to *niyoga*. 'This is my *kārya* is not at all a notion, but a desire, a wish to act.[9] No one acts without understanding it as *iṣṭa-sādhana*. *Śālikanātha* himself admits the necessity of *iṣṭa-sādhanatā* for creating the activity.[10] Bhavanātha, another Mīmāṃsaka supports this view, when he writes in his *Nyāyaviveka*[11] that a rational being, who is free to undertake any activity or not, undertakes it, thinking, 'this is my *kārya*' only when he realises it to be the means to the desired end.

In the injunctive sentence, there is no word, which expresses *kārya*. Nor the *saṅgati* of all words is capable of expressing it. Ānandabodha further explains that it would be much easier and reasonable also to understand *kriyā*—action—itself related to *phala* by doing away with the hypothetical *apūrva*. If *apūrva* would be action itself, it would be the object of other *pramāṇas* and therefore would, loose the very nature of being *apūrva*—not known before. If *apūrva* is something beyond *kārya*, then it would not be understood at all for the *saṅgati* of sentences makes known only the *kārya*.

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9. *abhilāṣaḥ eva ayam cikīrṣālakṣaṇaḥ /NM* p. 203

10. *kintu svayam kleśarūpam, karma yat kāryatām vrajet / phalasādhanatā tatra kāraṇam tena kāryatā / /* PP p. 429

11. *iṣṭopāyatā-dhiyā hi mama idam iti buddhyā svatantraḥ pravartate iti iṣṭopāyatādhītaḥ eva kleśarūpasya kāryatā /NV* p. 39

The word *svargakāma* specifically mentions the person addressed and does not necessarily indicate *niyoga*. Ānandabodha maintains that it would be too narrow a view to admit that a person only undertakes the activity which proves to be the instrument for his desired object, e.g. in the sentence *grāmakāma bhuṅkṣva,* the word *grāmakāma,* being the known qualification, distinguishes the person to the exclusion of others and it is clear that the *bhojana* is by no means a *grāmasādhana*. The word *svargakāma* in the same manner, distinguishes the person from the common people, by laying down a specific qualification. The illustration of a master and a servant, given for proving the principal nature—*prādhānya* of *niyoga* is not a suitable one. *Niyojya*—the sentient person performs actions to fulfil his own desires. His actions thus are guided by his desires and not by *niyoga*. The heaven is the desired object and aim of the effort of a sentient person and *niyoga* is its instrument. *Niyoga* hence, cannot become of paramount importance.

The view of Jarat—Prābhākaras :

The *Jarat-Prābhākaras*—the elder followers-of the Prābhākara school slightly differ from Śālikanātha in their opinions about the nature of *niyoga* and the like. They regard *niyoga* as the locus—*āśraya* of the *pravartanā,* incentive to activity, which is defined as the opposition to the absence of activity—*pravṛtyabhāvavirodha*. This is produced by the *liṅ*—the injunctive affix. *Niyoga* is a special variety of meaning of the nature of *kārya*.[12] The *niyoga* is beyond three times. It becomes *pravartaka* when it is known, though is not existent at that time.[13] The order of a father, even when

12. *kāryarūpo arthaviśeṣaḥ* / *NM* p. 230

13. *jñātaḥ pravartakaḥ, na sattayā* / *NM* p. 229

he is no more, appears to be *pravartaka* for his son, because knowledge of *niyoga* is present there.

Refutation :

Ānandabodha argues that *pravartanā,* which is defined as opposition to the absence of activity could be possible in the activity itself but activity is never seen to be a *pravartaka, Pravartanā* is possible only where the absence of activity exists. If activity is already present then, *pravartanā* becomes unnecessary and redundant. Again, the activities and also their absences being various, there is nothing common in them in which their opposition could be accepted. In this way the opposition—*virodha*—in the form of impossibility of existence in one place—*saha-anavasthāna*—or in the form of the destroyer and destroyed *vadhya-ghātaka-bhāva* is not possible in connection with the activity and its absences. Further, if *niyoga* is beyond the three times through the meaning—*arthataḥ* then it would mean in other words that *niyoga* is not at all related to time—*kāla*. This kind of *niyoga,* then would be an imaginary concept. If it is beyond the three times through the word—*śabdataḥ,* then it would not be different from jar and the like.

Further, the injunctive affix cannot express *apūrva,* because the *saṅgati* is not known to result in the *apūrva*. The *saṅgati* can be known, only when the word and the meaning are understood by some other means. The *niyoga* if is accepted as the object of a word will make it impossible for *saṅgati* to be understood at that time. Again, if *niyoga* were to be understood from the injunctive affix and *saṅgati* from the *niyoga,* there would be clearly the flaw of interdependence. Besides, the injunctive affix is not so powerful, that it can express the extra-ordinary

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meaning, without understanding the *saṅgati*. As *niyoga* is not accepted as being the object of any other means—*mānāntaragocara*—the *saṅgati* of the injunctive affix remains unknown. Consequently *niyoga* can not become the meaning of the word, far less than it can be the meaning of the sentence. It would be thus clear that the *niyoga* has no existence at all, it being not known from the Veda or from any other means.

The view of the Bhāṭṭas:

The Bhāṭṭas held that *śābdī-bhāvanā* is the *pravartaka*. The *pravartaka* should have the nature of *vyāpāra*—activity. Otherwise some *vyāpāra* to that attribute should be accepted and then there would be *gaurava*. The *liṅ* expresses this *pravartakatva* in its general sense and indicates it's *vyāpāratva* in its particular sense just as the word *abhidhā*, expression gives sense of 'meaning of word' in general and in particular has its own meaning. It is true that this *śabda-vyāpāra* does not urge a man to activity, if there is no desire.

Refutation :

Ānandabodha refutes this view of the Bhāṭṭas about the *Śābdī-bhāvanā* being the *pravartaka* by simply observing that as *iṣṭa-sādhanatā* is proved to be the only *pravartaka*, there is no necessity of admitting any other incentive and *śabda* as it's locus. Moreover *śabda* does not have any *vyāpāra*, and therefore this theory of Bhāṭṭas, which is based on this *vyāpāra* of *śabda* is naturally ruled out.

Thus having critically examined the views of all the schools of Mīmāṃsā about *pravartakatva*, Ānandabodha establishes the Vedānta view in the matter that *iṣṭa-sādhanatā* is the only *pravartaka*.

SKANDHĀVĀRA AS PRECURSOR OF ANCIENT CITIES

DR. U. N. UPADHYAYA

Lucknow

In ancient times, the military camps (*skandhāvāras*) played a prominent role in the establishment and development of cities. Before commencing war, a site was selected to serve as a base for military operations against enemies. These bases gradually grew into well developed cities.

Enrichment of culture and survival of civilisation of the past and its preservation continued to be the goal of ancient past-masters, whose noble thoughts and plannings were obviously dominated by socio-religious and political movements of the period. Naturally, therefore, all the creative activities in course of time, paved the way for 'Urban-evolution', which in turn, brought about a conducive atmosphere for growth and eminence of ancient cities. At the out-set, it appears that among all the potent factors which are attributed substantially to the origin and development of such cities *Skandhāvāra* played a prominent role. Mr. Dutta[1] while sharing this view, comes forward

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1. B.B. Dutta: *Town Planning in Ancient India,* p. 39. "It was almost an invariable principle emphasized by the *Śilpa-Śāstras* that each new ruling dynasty lay-out own capital". Here

with the positive notion that necessity of a new city (capital) was invariably felt by all the rulers of new dynasties. Therefore, it is quite likely that the process of *Skandhāvāra* being converted into cities, gained momentum in its usual course like other similar significant factors, contributing to the origin and development of ancient cities.

Curiously enough, *Bhūmi-Cayana*[2] and *Bhūmi-Śodhana*[3] *Saṃskāra of Skandhāvāra* resembles in totality to that of site-selection job of ancient cities being the preliminary and pre-requisite part of ancient Town-planning. Similar picturesque description is found in *Śrīkṛṣṇa Janma Khaṇḍa* of *Brahma Vaivarta-Purāṇa*.

Arthaśāstra[4] also confirms that site selection *Saṃskāra* for *Skandhāvāra* was invariably performed by *Nāyaka* and *Mauhūrtakāḥ* (astrologers) who measured a circular or square-site for the *Skandhāvāra* with a provision of four gateways[5],

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new capital as suggested by Mr. Dutta must have developed from *Skandhāvāra's* site, which possessed all requisite characteristics of a planned city.

2. *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*. II. 7,6—8 and *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, II, 7.5-6, Jain texts also refer to *Vathupadhāgāra*, who had especialized knowledge of site-selection branch. (*Ibid*. II, p. 177).

3. *Pāli-Texts* also refer to *'Vathuvijācārya'* which essentially stands for *Vāstuvidyācārya* of *Sūtra* literature. (*Jātaka*—I, p. 297). Dr. Agrawal equally shares this view. (V.S. Agrawal *Pāṇini Kālīna Bhārata*, p. 142).

4. *Arthaśāstra*, Pt. I, IX, p. 457.

5. It appears that all the pre-requisite characteristics of proposed project of *Skandhāvāra* bears affinity to safety precautions and military strategical-plannings of a *Durga* or *Pura*.

six roads, ditches[6] parapit-walls, watch-towers which probably formed the essential parts of the planning.[7] It is also evident from *MBh.* that suitable accommodation were allocated distinctly for provision of stores of artillery[8] and ammunition— (*MBh.* 5—155. 37, 38, 5.157, 6.42.2 ff) godowns for food-grains, water-tank and musicians who helped to abate the agony of wound and war (*MBh.* 6.82-54). Besides, an important office like that of modern Quarter-Master General with its huge establishment was properly ear-marked in the planning of *Skandhāvāra* as evident from *Mahābhārata.*[9]

Evidently *Skandhāvāra* having a full—fledged medical department constituted more or less on the modern pattern,

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6. These 'ditches' were excavated with their gates connected with rivers. (Town Planning in Ancient India, p. 94).

Cf. *Devī Purāṇa,* Chapter, 72, line 55 and *Town Planning* in *Ancient Deccan,* p. 61-62.

MBh. specifically suggests that in case of emergency these mechanical gates could be utilized even to inundate the whole city and surrounding area— (*MBh.* *Śānti*—Chapter 69, line 87).

7. *MBh.* 5.149.72.

8. *Skandhāvāra* had specific provision of *Śastrāgāra* under direct control of *Āyudhāgārādhyakṣa,* which were invariably placed under ground. (*Arthaśāstra,* 2.5). *MBh.* 5.155, 37, 39, 5.157 and 6.42.2.

9. *MBh.* (12.4.11). *Yudhiṣṭhira* entrusted his younger brother *Nakula* with the charge of keeping a register of forces, giving their food and pay and supervising the other affairs of the army.

Also see : *Ancient Indian War Fares,* p. 149 by Dr. S.D. Singh.

equipped with doctors, nurses, surgical apparatus and medicines, obviously served the battle front and catered the need of military personnel like red-cross of the modern times.[10] It appears that nurses, apart from discharging their usual services probably encouraged the military personnel to fight with great fortitude which practice was of course, conspicuous by its absence in any other contemporary civilization of the world. Likewise, alongwith other establishments, *Skandhāvāra* had a provision for treasury and judicial court which necessarily formed an important part of its planning.[11] Probably present practice of setting-up of a separate military-court has been borrowed from the old tradition of *Skandhāvāra*.

At the out-set, it is imperative to suggest that, intelligence department,[12] which of course, was in-escapable in this planning from military strategy, was suitably accommodated alongwith its paraphernallia. *Arthaśāstra* also described such *skandhāvāra*s which were established methodically and entire military operation was controlled by *Nāyaka*.[13] There is a reference of a *kaṭaka*[14] in the vicinity of *Ayodhyā* during the time of *Nandas*, as evident from *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which probably indicates prominence of such *Skandhāvāra* in Pre-Mauryan times.

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10. *Arthaśāstra*, 10.2.

11. B. B. Dutta : *Town Planning in Ancient India*, p. 335-36.

12. *Arthaśāstra*, 12.2.

13. *Arthaśāstra*, 10.2.

14. B.P. Panthari : *Maurya Sāmrājya kā Sāṃskṛtika Itihāsa*. p. 16.

It is equally significant to note that the practice of establishing *Jai-Skandhāvāra*[15] was in vogue even during Nanda-Mauryan period, which was evidently followed by Greeks. *Alexandaria*[16] (*Sikandaria*) primarily founded as a *Skandhāvāra* (Military Camp), naturally became a permanent city with its full potentiality. However, *Pāṭaliputra*[17] may especifically be cited as one of such traditional *Skandhāvāra,* which indeed, was established and constructed as per master-plan of a city, which obviously served as a base of military operation against *Lichhavis,* and gradually appears to have been converted into a capital city of Magadhan empire. Dr. Mookerjee[18] has also shared this view equally.

Likewise certain terminologies viz. *Skandhāvāra, Śibira*[19], and *Senā Niveśa* resemble in their totality with that

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15. *Nanda Maurya Yugīna Bhārata,* p. 176, 1st ed. 1969.

16. *Mc Crindal* : *Ancient India as described by Megasthanese and Arrian,* p. 37.

Also kindly see : Havell. *Ancient and Med. Architecture,* p. 24 and *Patañjali,* IV, 32.

17. Dr. Mookerji has aptly remarked—'As a first step he had to construct a new city and fort before commencing the war........ he selected convenient site for construction of a fort and laid the foundation of *Pāṭaliputra*'.

R.K. Mookerji : *Hindu Civilization,* part II, p. 188-89, Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay 1964.

18. *Jain Text, Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (XXX. 15.18), while describing centre of settlements, mentions—"Sthala-Skandhāvāra......".

R.K. Mookerjee : *Hindu Civilization,* Pt. II, p. 309, Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay 1964).

19. *MBh.* 5, 144.67–69.

of *Jaiskandhāvāra*[20] of Mauryan times in their nature, purpose and other characteristics. Dutta has also advocated that '*Skandhāvāra* is nothing but a camp of the soldiers, not very remote from the actual battle-field where two kings are fighting together.[21] This has aptly been attested by the statement of *Śilparatna*.[22] The very term *Skandhāvāra* or *Jai-Sandhāvāra* necessarily bears the epigraphic testimony where it has been termed as *Khadhāvāra*.[23] The term *Sanniveśa* of *Hāthīgumphā*[24] inscription more or less convey the sense of *Skandhāvāra* and resembles with *Senāniveśa* of *Mahābhārata* as referred to above. Thus it appears that '*Skandhāvāra*' enjoyed sophisticated position during epic-age.[25].

Thus there appears striking similarity in the broad features[26] and town-planning of ancient *Pura* and *Skand-*

20. *Nanda Maurya Yugīna Bhārata*, 1st ed., p. 176 Jain Texts *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (XXX, 15–18) while describing Centre of settlements mentions—'*Sthala-Senāskandhāvāra*' R. K. Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, Pt. II, p. 309 Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay 1964.

21. B. B. Dutta, : *Town Planning in Ancient India*, p. 280.

22. *Śilparatna*, 30.

23. *Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamī Putra Sāta Karṇī* Line-l '*Vijaya-Khandhāvāra*'.

24. *Hathigumpha Inscription of King Kharvela*, Line-12.

25. *MBh. Udyoga*, 147.13, 14.

26. '*Skandhāvāra*' or military necessity accounts for one, for these military encampments projected and laid-out in the light of highest of Civic architecture were nothing short of miniature cities ....were in the event of victory turned royal capitals to the rejection of conquered city. B.B. Dutta, *Town Planning in Ancient India*, p. 337.

hāvāra, which has aptly been shared by Mr. Dutta.[27] *Rāmāyaṇa* while subscribing a theory suggests that town-halls and Ladies-Parks also figured promimently in city planning, which probably denotes that public places of greater magnitude were not conspicuous by their absence in the schemes of *Skandhāvāra*.

In compendium, it is evidently proved that the facts associated with the historicity of *Skandhāvāra* indubitably 'flashes new lights' on the theory of evolution of ancient cites discovered so far.

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27. *Rāmāyaṇa, Ādi-Kāṇḍa,* Ch. 6. (Also see *Town Planning* in *Ancient India,* p. 322) .

THE DEVELOPMENT OF VAIṢṆAVISM IN ANCIENT PUNJAB

BRAJESH KRISHNA

Kurukshetra

The Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of 2nd c. B.C. at Besanagar is the earliest evidence of the existence of *Vaiṣṇavism in Punjab.* The abundance of epigraphical, sculptural as well as literary evidences indicate the prevalence and popularity of the cult in the region.

Among the religious cults of India Vaiṣṇavism is one of the most popular Brāhmanical cult. It came into being some centuries before the Christian era in the Mathura region[1] and spread later on throughout the country. The deity, round whom the Vaiṣṇava cult flourished, was the result of syncretism of three god-concepts, the Vedic solar god Viṣṇu, the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa of the Brāhmaṇas and the man-god Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.[2] The worship Vāsudeva alone or with other heroes of his family have come into vogue in the second-first century B.C., as is attested by inscrip-

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1. J. N. Banerjea : *The Development of Hindu Iconography,* Calcutta, 1956, (Second ed.), p. 385.

2. *Ibid.,* p. 386.

tions.[3] The association of the idea of incarnation (*avatāra*) further enhanced the growth of Vaiṣṇava cult.

The earliest evidence regarding the existence of Vaiṣṇavism in Punjab is provided by the Besanagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription[4] of second century B.C. It mentions Heliodorus, a Greek ambassador and son of Diya (Dion) as an inhabitant of Taxila, who went to Vidiśā and installed there a Garuḍa standard in the honour of Vāsudeva. It is quite possible that he might have embraced Vaiṣṇavism by some Vaiṣṇavite preacher at Taxila itself,[5] and subsequently he has undertaken journey of the great Vaiṣṇavite centre at Besanagar. It is further corroborated by the discovery of some uninscribed copper square coins from Taxila of 2nd century B.C.[6], containing the representation of a column surmounted by fan-palm capital,[7] which stands for the emblem of Saṅkarṣaṇa as his symbolic representation.

It appears that the Vaiṣṇavism could gain wide popularity in the Punjab during the beginning centuries of the

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3. Mora Well Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXVI, pp. 194 ff ; Ghosundi Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXII, p. 20 ; See also, R. P. Chanda, : 'Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava Tradition', *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India,* No. 5, reprinted in, *Indian Museum Bulletin,* 1978, pp. 45–62.

4. D. C. Sircar : *Select Inscriptions,* Calcutta, 1965, pp. 88-89.

5. *Indian Museum Bulletin,* 1978, p. 50.

6. J. Allan : *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in British Museum, London,* London, 1936, p. 229.

7. J. N. Banerjea : *Op. cit.,* p. 131.

Christian era. The coins[8] and sealings[9] of Vṛṣṇi *rājanya-gaṇa* hailing from the ancient sites of the region confirm the worship of Vaiṣṇavite deities from first century B.C. to fourth century A.D. The evidence in this connection is also to be found on the coins of Vīrayaśasa, the Kauluta Chief of first century A.D.,[10] from Northern Punjab, which depict the wheel encircled by dots, representing the *Sudarśana Cakra,* a most significant Vaiṣṇavite symbol. A stone inscription of 2nd century A.D. in Peshawar Museum[11] refers to a Brāhmaṇa Vāsudeva which may suggest the popularity of the deity. A Brāhmī inscription[12] of Devaprayaga village (Himachal Pradesh) engraved on a rock, contains the name of a person, *Caturvyūha,* who might have some pilgrim. It is, however, to be noted that *Caturvyūha* is a name of god Viṣṇu which represents his four *Vyūha* forms.

The fashioning of a composite image having three heads and six-arms in Gandhara art representing *Trimūrti*[13] also speaks about the worship of Viṣṇu alongwith Brahmā

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8. J. Allan :*Op. cit.,* p. 281, pl. XVI. 5; Cunningham. A: *Coins of Ancient India,* Varanasi, 1971 (Reprinted) p. 70, pl. IV. 15.

9. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. XXXV, pp. 95–7, and Vol. XL, pp. 87–91.

10. J. Allan, : *Op. cit.* p. 158, See also J. N. Banerjea, : *Op. cit.,* p. 132.

11. *CII,* pt. i, No. 81, pl. XXX. 1.

12. *Epigraphia Indica,* XXX, No. 23, Ins. No. XVIII.

13. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report,* 1913-14, pp. 276 ff., pl. LXXII. a.

and Śiva in that region during the early centuries. A life-size image in typical white spotted red sand stone of Mathura school of art, discovered from Agroha (Distt. Hissar) is a fascinating example of Viṣṇu-images of Kuṣāṇa period from ancient Punjab.[14]

Curiously enough, the extant images of the deities related to Vaiṣṇava cult are not found in sufficient number, commensurable to the other evidence of the period. The paucity of the extant images in Punjab is explainable in the light of its geographical situation as well its historical background. The region, in fact, being the gateway to India, was subjected time and again to the foreign invaders and the spoilation of the ancient monuments by the iconoclastic zeal of some of them caused for the meagreness of the images. Besides, the perishability of the wooden and clay images cannot be ruled out.[15]

Vaiṣṇavism reached its culmination under the patronage of the *paramabhāgavata* Gupta rulers in the fourth-fifth century A.D. The region of Punjab also saw during this period the revival of Vaiṣṇavism with new vigour. The evidence of coins, seals and sealings, inscriptions and images recovered from the region confirms it. Tusam Hill Inscription[16] (Distt. Hissar) provides valuable information about the lineage of the *Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas* and their pious deeds. It

14. Silak Ram: *Archaeology of Rohtak and Hissar Districts* (Haryana), Kurukshetra (Un-published thesis), 1972, p. 214, pl. XXII B.

15. J. N. Banerjea: *Op. cit.*, p. 203-4.

16. J. F. Fleet: 'Tusam Rock Inscription', *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. III. No. 67.

begins with an adoration to Viṣṇu and informs about the work of Ācārya Somtrāta who had built two reservoirs (*Kuṇḍas*) and a house 'intended for the use of the feet of the Divine one'. The donar was the great grandson of Yaśastrāta, who himself was a highly esteemed devout Bhāgavata. The name of his (the donar of the inscription) grandfather was Viṣṇutrāta which, too, exhibits the Vaiṣṇavite influence. Palaeographically the inscription belongs to 5th century A.D. It reveals the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism with four successive generations in a family. From the inscription, it can be inferred that the cult must have prevailed in the region as early as the fourth century A.D.[17] An interesting terracotta image[18] of the same period from Naurangabad (Distt. Hissar) is a beautiful depiction of four armed Viṣṇu standing in *samabhaṅga* posture, adorned with *Kirīṭamukuṭa, Kuṇḍala, Vanamālā, prabhāmaṇḍala* and *āyudhapuruṣas.* It testifies the popularity of Viṣṇu amongst the people during the Gupta period.

A few terracotta sealings of 5th century A.D., from Sunet (ancient Sunetra) in Ludhiana District, bearing Vaiṣṇavite symbols and names also show that the region around this site had considerable influence of the Vaiṣṇava cult. The sealings speak of the personal names[19] of the devotees named after Viṣṇu, viz., Viṣṇusoma, Viṣṇudāsa, Viṣṇusiṃhaśatapati, Nārāyaṇadeva, Haridāsa, Harigupta, Hariśarma and Kṛṣṇa-

17. Suvira Jaiswal : *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism,* Delhi 1967, p. 180.

18. Bhagawan Dev Acharya : *Harayāne Ke Vīra Yaudheya,* (in Hindi), Rohtak, V.S. 2025, p. 60.

19. K. K. Thapalyal : *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals,* Lucknow, 1972, p. 282-83.

datta.[20] Some of these sealings also depict the well-known Vaiṣṇavite emblems, *Cakra* and *Śaṅkha*. A few sealings have the legend *Śrījitam Bhāgavata Svāmināráyaṇasya* and the symbol *Cakra*.[21] The evidence of sealings, provided by another ancient site Sanghol,[22] in the same district, also corroborates Vaiṣṇava influence in the region. Similarly, the sealings from Naurangabad (Hissar), Agroha (Hissar) and Sugh (Ambala) are not less interesting.[23]

A few sealings conjointly adorn Śiva and Viṣṇu. The legend on these sealings is *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇābhyām*.[24] Most probably, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism both were popular sects at that time and, therefore, an attempt was made to establish a religious syncretism. The idea behind the images of Hari-hara was also the same. Not only Śiva but Sun was also conjointly worshipped during the Gupta period. The Nicolo seal[25] of a Hūṇa Chief, in Tocharian language, depicts Mihira, Viṣṇu and Śiva indicating the process of amalgamation of the different cults.

The cult of Vaiṣṇavism continued to flourish in the region during the post-Gupta period. Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the court poet of Harṣavardhana, mentions purāṇic legends relating to

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20. Swami Omanand Saraswati : *Ancient Seals of Haryana*, Rohtak, V. s. 2031, Seal nos. 92, 199, 101, 141, 197, 226, 261, 162-63 and 149 respectively.

21. *Ibid.*, Seal No. 216.

22. *Ibid.*, Seal nos. 70, 73.

23. *Ibid.*, Seal nos. 30, 48 and 60.

24. *Ibid.*, Seal no. 210.

25. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893, pp. 126-7, See also, J. N. Banerjea : *Op cit.*, p. 124-25.

Viṣṇu in his *Harṣacarita*.[26] Images of *Anantaśāyin Viṣṇu*,[27] found from the Fazilpur Gadha (Sonepat) assignable to post Gupta period, beautifully depicting the four armed god recumbent on Anantanāga suggests of the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism in the region.

The abundance of literary, epigraphic as well as sculptural evidence in the early medieval period may indicate the growing popularity of the cult in this region. An inscription from Pehowa (Ancient Pṛthūdaka)[28] of the time of Bhojadeva mentions of the donation to a temple of *Yajñavarāha* built by Bhūvaka, son of Nāgarabhaṭṭa Prabhākara. Another inscription[29] from the same site informs about a triple temple of Viṣṇu erected by three brothers of a local Tomara clan, Gogga, Pūrṇarāja and Devarāja, in the reign of Gurjara Pratihāra King Mahendrapāla. A stone inscription[30] from Sirsa though records the erection of a Śaiva temple, also informs about the image of Lord of Lakṣmī (i.e. Viṣṇu) in *Viśvarūpa* form which was kept in the temple for worship.

Sculptures found in plenty from the different regions of ancient Punjab, viz., Janer (Distt. Ferozpur)[31] Agroha,[32]

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26. Silak Ram: *Op cit.*, pp. 213-14.

27. V.S.Aggarwal: *Harṣacarita: Eka Sāṃskṛtika Adhyayana*, Patna, 1964, (Second ed.), p. 206.

28. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 184—90.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

30. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pt. VIII, p. 295.

31. D. Handa,: 'Sculpture from Janer', *Punjab University Research Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 2, p. 149-50.

32. H. L. Shrivastava: 'Excavations at Agroha—Punjab, *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 61, p. 3 ff.

Thanesar[33] Sirsa,[34] Ahir Majra (Sonepat),[35] Kosli (Rohtak)[36] are in addition to the testimony of the above inscriptions for the prevalence of Vaiṣṇava cult. It is noteworthy that besides the simple images of Viṣṇu in *Sthānaka* pose, the images of his incarnations were also installed in the temples.

There existed a famous temple of *Cakrasvāmin* (Viṣṇu) at Thanesar at the time of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī's attack in 1014 A.D.[37] Mahmūd marched from Ghazni, rejected the fervent appeal of Ānandapāla to spare the sacred city of Thanesar in return for compensation. The city, which was held in great veneration by Hindus for its image, was attacked and plundered by Sultān. The image of Cakrasvāmin was torn away from the place and was carried to Ghazni and placed in a public square for defilement. The description of the image indicates faith and veneration of the people for Vaiṣṇava cult.

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33. S. P. Shukla: 'Sthāṇvīśvara—Itihāsa aur Purātattva', *Haryana Saṃvāda*, (In Hindi) 1 September, 1977, pp. 13—15.

34. S. P. Shukla: 'Art Remains from Sirsa', *Haryana Review*, May, 1976, p. 22.

35. Bhagwan Dev Acharya: *Harayāne ke Vīr Yaudheya*, Rohtak, V. S. 2025, p. 101.

36. Now in the Collection of Department of Archaeology, Haryana.

37. M. Nazim: *The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni*, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 103-4.

SANDHIS AND SANDHYAṄGAS IN ŚRAVYAKĀVYAS

DR. M. V. RAMANA

Waltair

The *Sandhis* and *Sandhyaṅgas* are essential factors in the construction of plot of any literary composition, may be it a *nāṭaka*, *mahākāvya* or *muktaka*. *Ānandavardhana* first pointed out the essential points of similarity between a *dṛśya* and a *śravya Kāvya*. A *kāvya*, though poor in its story, shines well with the proper use of *sandhis* and *Sandhyaṅgas*.

The structural theory of *Sandhis* and *Sandhyaṅgas* (relating to the development of plot in a *Kāvya*) had been in vogue in the domain of drama and dramatic literature. This is evinced by the copious illustrations found in the treatises on dramaturgy and also in the vast commentary literature on dramatic compositions. But the same theory is almost neglected in the realm of *Śravyakāvyas*. As far as the organic structure of *Kāvya* is concerned, there is no essential difference between *Dṛśya—and Śravyakāvyas*. A literary work can be rightly designated as *Dṛśyakāvya*, only so long as it is enacted. On the contrary, if it is to be read and enjoyed, then in no way it differs from a *Sravyakāvya*. Primarily, at the aesthetic level, there is no essential difference between *Śravya—* and *Dṛśyakāvyas*. For, the one describes the emotional situations while the other presents the same through the actors.

Anubhāvavibhāvānām varṇanā kāvyamucyate /

Teṣāmeva prayogastu nāṭyam gītādirañjanam //[1]

Even from the intellectual point of view, i.e., instruction or *Upadeśa*, there is no fundamental difference between these two species, since both of them aim at educating man in the four-fold *Puruṣārthas* (*Puruṣārthavyutpatti*). The difference, however, as Mahimabhaṭṭa points out, lies only in the means—

Sāmānyena ubhayamapi ca tat śāstravat vidhiniṣedha vyutpattiphalam, kevalam vyutpādyajanajāḍyājāḍya-tāratamyāpekṣayā kāvyanāṭya (*Śāstra*) *rūpo'yam upāyamātrabhedaḥ na phalabhedaḥ—*[2]

Similarly, at the narrative level, the *Sandhis* and *Sandhyaṅgas* are the vital points involved in the construction of plot, because an activity as such whether in a *Dṛśya*—or in a *Śravyakāvya* should necessarily be accomplished through the five *Avasthās—Ārambha* etc., which finally culminate in the consummation of the fruit.

Sarvasyaiva hi kāryasya prārabdhasya phalārthibhiḥ /
Yathānukramaśo hyetāḥ pañcāvasthāḥ bhavanti hi[3]*//*

Abhinavagupta rightly observes that an activity as such involves all these stages and they can not be minimised.

Na hi kaścidapi vyāpāro prārambhādyavasthāpañcakam vinā siddhyet, na śakyamaunīkṛtyam vā.[4]

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1. Quoted in Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka* : ed. Rewaprasada Dwivedi, *Kashi Sanskrit Series*—121 (Varanasi, 1964) p. 102.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

3. Nāṭyaśāstra, G.O.S. edn., XIX. 14.

4. *Abhinavabhāratī*, G.O.S. edn. (Baroda, 1954), Vol. III p. 10.

It should however be noted that even in the absence of some of the *Sandhis* (as in the case of minor types of composition), all the *Avasthās* find scope because any action has to undergo these natural stages for its proper accomplishment.[5]

Thus *Dṛśya* and *Śravya* are only the two species of *Kāvya* and the common string of poetic element in these two branches can under no circumstances be left unnoticed. Whether it is a *Dṛśya*—or a *Śravyakāvya*, it is essentially a *Kāvya*. The primary purpose of a literary composition which the poet intends to achieve through the work, is to evoke '*Rasa*' in the minds of the *Sahṛdayas*. Whether this purpose is served through the verbal delineation or through histrionic representation is not a matter of great importance so far as the attainment of the end is concerned.

That, the structural theory of *Sandhis* and *Sandhyaṅgas* is not extensively dealt with by the poeticians, is an undeniable fact. But this concept did not fully escape the notice of these theorists. These writers have realised, atleast theoretically, the significance of these elements in the construction of plot. That the *Sandhis* form the part and parcel of the structure of *Kāvya,* can be clearly seen from the definition of *Mahākāvya* given by Bhāmaha and his successors as '*Pañcabhissandhibhiryuktam*'. Apart from these scattered refer-

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5. cf. A.K. Warder: 'These (*Avasthās*) apply to any action and presumably to any kind of play, including those in which there are only two conjunctions. The stages are regarded as inevitable, even in real life. The conjunctions (i.e. *Sandhis*) are not inevitable, but some or all of them should be used by the play-wright in his art, depending on the scale, especially the length of his presentation'. *Indian Kāvya Literature'*, Vol. I. (Delhi 1972) p. 60.

ences that could be traced in the definitions of *Mahākāvya,* Ānandavardhana gives a definite exposition of the concept of *Sandhis* as applicable to *Kāvya,* in general. As far as the *Itivṛtta* is concerned, he makes no distinction between *Dṛśya* and *Śravyakāvyas*. When he lays down the *Kārikās*—

Vibhāvabhāvānubhāvasañcāryaucityacāruṇaḥ /

. . . .

Sandhisandhyaṅgaghaṭanā rasābhivyaktyapekṣayā /

—*Dhvanyāloka* III 10—12

he intends all these formulations as contributing to the suggestiveness (*rasavyñjakatā*) of a *prabandha*—be it a *Mahākāvya* or a *Nāṭaka.* Thus Ānandavardhana is the first critic to show that there is no real distinction between a *Dṛśya* and a *Śravyakāvya* in their essential elements and constitution.

Abhinavagupta also treats *Śravyakāvyas* on a par with *Dṛśyakāvyas* in several contexts as given hereunder.[6]

(i) While speaking about *Rasa*—

Na Nāṭye eva ca rasāḥ, kāvyépi nāṭyāyamāna eva rasaḥ—

(ii) About *sandhis*—

Sandarbheṣu daśarūpakam śreyaḥ, ... tena tadaṅgasandhyādisanghaṭanamuddhṛtya sargabandhādi yāvanmuktakam.

(iii) About the utility of *Sandhyaṅgas,* Bharata says that a *Kāvya,* though poor in its story—*hīnārtha,* shines

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6. *Abhinavabhāratī* (G.O.S. edn.).

(i) Vol. I (Baroda, 1956, 2nd Edn.) p. 290.

(ii) *Ibid.*, p. 291.

(iii) Vol. III. *op. cit.*, p. 33.

well when it is properly equipped with these *Aṅgas*. Abhinavagupta explains the term "*hīnārtha*", by referring to both *Dṛśya*—and *Śravya-kāvyas* :

Hīnārthamiti svalpamapi prayojanam prahasana-nidarśana—Kathākhyāyikādi.

These fragmentary passages would suffice to prove the fact that Abhinavagupta makes no distinction between *Dṛśya—Śravyakāvyas*.

Later Kuntaka emphasises the proper employment of *Sandhis* and their *Aṅgas* as a kind of *Prakaraṇavakratā* contributing to the paramount beauty of the work.[7]

Bhoja can be said to have surpassed his predecessors in analysing *Sandhis* in *Śravyakāvyas* along with *Dṛśyakāvyas*—

Pañcasandhimahākāvyam nāṭakam nāṭikā tathā /
Ākhyāyikāprakaraṇam parvabandhādayaśca ye //
. . . .
Pravahlikādiṣu jñeyā yatheṣṭam sandhikalpanā //
Na sandhikalpanā kośasaṅghātādiṣu vidyate /
Kāvyavarjam samasteṣu padārthābhinayeṣu ca //[8]

Here it is significant to note that the *Sandhis* are not prescribed to *Kośa* and *Sanghāta*. This is due to the reason that the types of compositions—*Kośa* and *Sanghāta*, being of the nature of anthologies, the plot is not unified and hence

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7. *Mukhābhisandhisamhlādisamvidhānakabandhuram* /
Pūrvottarādisāngatyādaṅgānām viniveśanam / /
Vakroktijīvita, IV. 14.

8. *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* : ed. G.R. Josyer (Mysore, 1956) Vol. II. Ch. xi p. 480.

the question of Sandhis does not arise. Similarly, Bhoja observes that the *Uparūpakas* also (which he gives under 12 kinds called *Padārthābhinaya)* with an exception of the type '*Kāvya*' do not possess *Sandhis*. This is also in a way justified. For, it is well-known that in the *Uparūpakas*, the element of dance and music are predominant. Therefore, the element of narration is not of much importance in these types. As such, *Sandhis*, which help the balanced arrangement of several elements into a single unified theme, do not find scope in these compositions. In the clan of literary theorists, the credit goes to Bhoja for analysing different literary compositions from this view-point.

That Bhoja attaches equal value to *Dṛśya* and *Śravyakāvyas* is clearly known from the several passages occurring in the text,—*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*—

Evamete pañcasandhayaḥ paripūrṇaprabandhe bhavanti;

and

Ete tu sandhayaḥ kāryāḥ nāṭakeṣu prayoktṛbhiḥ /
Tathā prakaraṇeṣvevaṃ kathāsvākhyāyikāsu ca //
Mahākāvyeṣu campūṣu tathaivākhyānakeṣu ca /
Kriyante yatra naite tu sarve te syur ḍimādayaḥ //[9]

About *Sandhyaṅgas* in particular, Bhoja clearly says—

Saiṣā sandhyaṅgacatuṣṣaṣṭiḥ nāṭakādiṣu mahākāvyādiṣu ca pūrṇasandhyādiṣu nibandhanīyāni. Pratissandhi ca yānyaṅgāni paṭhitāni tāvatāmeva krameṇa nibandhaḥ kāryaḥ ityeṣa pracuraḥ prayogaḥ. Samvidhānavaśācca nyūnādhikabhāvena vyutkrameṇa ca prayogaḥ....—[10]

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9. *Ibid.*, p. 485.

10. *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* : ed. G.R. Josyer (Mysore, 1956) Vol. II p. 505.

Another striking instance is Bhoja's explanation of *Prakarī* as applied to a *Prabandha*. He says that in the *Mahāprabandhas*, the descriptions of seasons and the like take the port-folio of *Prakarī*—

> *Evam mahāprabandhasya ṛtuvarṇanādiḥ anyo vā ko' pi tadvidho vyāpāraḥ sā prakarīti kathyate.*[11]

The scattered information, furnished above, would be rich enough to point out the long and the running tradition of the concept of 'Sandhis' in *Śravyakāvyas* as approached by the poeticians. The omission of an extensive treatment of these topics in these treatises, is perhaps due to the reason that Bharata's treatment of the subject is most exhaustive. Thus, these writers presume a knowledge of dramatic technique on the part of their readers and often refer them to the original treatises of Bharata for fuller information on that subject'.[12]

The task of application of this structural theory in *Śravyakāvyas*, did not receive much attention at the hands of the poeticians. 'Even the theorists who have dealt with the plot—techniques, invariably had recourse to dramatic literature when it is their turn to give illustrations, but none of them has attempted to exemplify the same rules from the non-dramatic compositions'.[13] The modern scholars like Dr. K.C. Pandey and Dr. T.G. Mainkar have also shown this theory

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11. *Ibid.*, p. 483.

12. K. Krishnamoorthy: *Dhvanyāloka and its critics*, (Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore) pp. 3-4.

13. P. S. Subbarama Pattar: *Studies in Dhvanyāloka*, (Trichur, 1938) p. 113f.

with reference to the 'dramatic compositions' only.[14] However, Citrabhānu, a commentator, has practically given the application of *Sandhis* in *Kirātārjunīya*, a *Śravyakāvya*.* Later, Prof. A.K. Warder also explained *Sandhis* with reference to the same work.[15] Atempts are also made to analyse the *Sandhyaṅgas* in the works like *Śiśupālavadha*.[16]

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14. (i) Dr Pandey explains his theory with reference to the play—*Ratnāvalī*—*Indian Aesthetics* (Varanasi, 1959) Vol. I, p. 409ff.

(ii) Dr. Mainkar illustrates this theory with reference to the plays—*Abhijñānaśākuntala and Ratnāvalī Theory of the Sandhis and Sandhyaṅgas* (Delhi, 1978) p. 160ff.

There are also several attempts by scholars to explain this theory in various specimens of dramatic literature: For example, Dr. (Miss.) Vimala Gora explains the *Sandhis* and the *Sandhyaṅgas* in the three plays of Bhavabhūti—*Mind And Art of Bhavabhūti* (Delhi 1973) p. 105ff.

*Trisargyām *tāvadārambhakāryāvasthāmudrito mukhasandhiḥ* pratipādyate, Punarardhādhikāyām dvisargyām *yatnānvitaḥ pratimukhasandhiḥ*, Punarardhādhikāyām pañcasargyām *prāptyāśā-garbhito garbhasandhiḥ*, Punaḥ ṣaṭsargyām *niyatāptimiśro avamarśasandhiḥ*, Carame tu sarge *phalāgamasambandho nirvahaṇasandhiriti*—sandhīnām vibhāgośmin, matimadbhirālocanīyaḥ—'*Kirātārjunīya*' with the comm. "Śabdārthadīpikā" of Citrabhānu, *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*—LXIII, 1918 p. 5.

15. A. K. Warder *op. cit.*, p. 209.

16. Susama Kulasrestha: (i) "Nirvahaṇa Sandhyaṅgas in Kirātārjunīya—A study", *Venkateswara University Oriental Journal*, Vol. XVIII, pts. 1-2 (1975) pp. 5—14.

(ii) "Vimarśa Sandhi and its subdivisions: Śiśupālavadha, A study"—*Journal of Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth*, Vol. XXXI pts. 1—4 (1975) pp. 345—56.

Above all, the analysis of the five *Sandhis* offered by Bhoja in a single *Muktaka* verse—'*Kathamapi kṛtapratyāpattau* (*Amaruśataka*, Verse 75)—is all the more a unique contribution.

***Pañcasandhyekamapi vākyam prabandha-vyapadeśa-māsādayati, tadyathā—*

Kathamapi kṛtapratyāpattau priye —iti *mukham*,

Skhalitottare —iti *pratimukham*,

Virahakṛśayā kṛtvā vyājaprakalpitamaśrutam —iti *garbhaḥ*,

Asahanasakhīśrotraprāptipramādasasambhramam vivalitadṛśā —iti *vimarśaḥ*,

Śūnye gehe samucchvasitam punaḥ —iti *nirvahaṇam*

The *Sandhis* and *Sandhyaṅgas* are, therefore, the common features involved in the construction of plot in any literary composition—be it a *Nāṭaka*, a *Mahākāvya*, or even a tiny *Muktaka*, and they can never be restricted to any one branch of literature to the entire exclusion of the others. All the literary theories—the concept of *Alaṅkāra* of Daṇḍin, the *Prabandhaucitya* of Ānandavardhana, the *Prakaraṇavakratā* of Kuntaka and the *Prabandharasāviyoga* of Bhoja—, universally applicable to any *Kāvya*, also clearly emphasise the employment of these structural elements as contributing to the balanced arrangement of plot in a *Kāvya*.

**Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, *Kāvyamālā*—95 ed. Pandit Kedarnath Durgaprasad & Vasudev Laxman Sastri Pansikar (Bombay, 1925) p. 647. And also *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*', G. R. Josyer's edn., Vol. IV. Ch. XXIX, p. 979.

To conclude, among the three-fold technique, viz., Individual, Special and Universal, *the theory of Sandhis and Sandhyaṅgas,* as Dr. Mainkar rightly observes, '*belong to the universal technique and therefore common to the whole species of Kāvya*'.[17] Coming to the scholars of the later date, P.S. Subbaramapattar[18] and Dr. C. M. Byrski[19] realised the importance of this subject. Dr. Raghavan explains the term '*Kāvya*' used by Bharata (in saying '*Itivṛttam tu kāvyasya..*') as the text of a drama, and asserts the view that the *Lakṣaṇas, Guṇas, Alaṅkāras* and the *Sandhyaṅgas* belong as much to *Śravyakāvyas* as in the case of *Dṛśyakāvyas*.[20] About *Sandhis* in particular, Dr. Raghavan aptly remarks that they, being the natural stages in the development of an activity, 'are common to daily life, or action in a novel, poem or drama'.[21]

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17. Mainkar, *op cit.*, p. 187.

18. Subbarama Pattar, *Loc. cit.*

19. Byrski, C.M.: *Concept of Ancient Indian Theatre* (Delhi, 1974) p. 102.

20. V. Raghavan : Vide the Chapter on 'Lakṣaṇa' in *Some concepts of Alaṃkāraśāstra* (Madras, 1973) @ p. 2 and 44.

21. '*Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*' (Madras, 1973, 3rd edn.) p. 575

CONCEPT OF RĪTI IN VĀMANA

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The term *rīti* was first used by Vāmana for a 'peculiar arrangement of words'. A careful cultivation of certain *guṇas* produces *śobhā,* an aesthetic charm. *Guṇa* is an indispensable condition for poetic charm and is *nitya.* Thus Vāmana's treatment of *guṇas* is peculiar and a bit away from the earlier tradition. The author in this paper proposes to analyse Vāmana's treatment of the ten guṇas with reference to their categorisation on the basis of their theorised aspects of word and sense, with illustrations mainly from the works of Kālidāsa.

Although the concept of *rīti,* designated by some theorists as *mārga,* existed in its subconscious form, if not in a fully developed one, much before Daṇḍin (close of seventh century A.D. and Vāmana (c. A.D. 800), it was for these two writers to have given it a definite shape through their elaborate treatment of it in their respective works. Of these two theorists, again, it was Vāmana who exalted this concept to the status of a clear-cut theory and called it the soul of poetry,[1] meaning thereby that the *rīti* was the quintessence of a poetic composition.

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1. *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti* (=*KASV*) (ed. with *Kāmadhenu* comm. of Gopendratripurahara-bhūpāla, by Ashubodh Vidyabhushan and Nitya-bodh Vidyaratna. Calcutta, 1922), I.2.6: *rītir ātmā kāvyasya*.

Vāmana, for the first time, used the word *rīti,* discarding the earlier designation, *mārga,* given to it by Daṇḍin[2] and supplied it, again for the first time, with a definition. He explained it as a *peculiar* arrangement of words and attributed this *peculiarity* to a careful cultivation of certain excellences (*guṇas*)[3] which bring about, in a poetic composition, an aesthetic charm, which he calls *śobhā, saundarya* or *alaṃkāra,* that may be further embellished by a judicious employment of poetic figures.[4] Vāmana thus followed, in this respect Daṇḍin who also based his concept of *mārga* on the cultivation of certain poetic excellences.[5] Vāmana, however, did not leave his concept of *guṇa* undefined, as Daṇḍin unfortunately did, thereby giving a rise to the confusion between the concepts of *guṇa* and *alaṃkāra,* which persisted in one form or the other for quite some time in the history of Sanskrit poetics.

Vāmana virtually used Daṇḍin's definition of *alaṃkāra* as that of his *guṇa,* excellence, explaining it as an essential attribute that brings about an aesthetic charm in a poetic composition and distinguishing it from *alaṃkāra,* poetic

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2. Cf. *Kāvyādarśa* (ed. D.K. Gupta, Delhi, 1973), I.42 ff. Kuntaka (*Vakroktijīvita,* ed. K. Krishnamoorthy, Dharwad, 1977) also adopts this designation. Bhojadeva (*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa,* Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1934 : II. 27) accepts both the terms.

3. Cf. *KASV,* 1.2.7-8 : *viśiṣṭā-padaracanā rītiḥ viśeṣo guṇātmā.*

4. Cf. *KASV,* I.1.2-3 : *saundaryam alaṁkāraḥ ; sa doṣaguṇālaṁkārahānādānābhyām* : III.1.1-2 : *kāvyaśobhāyāḥ kartāro dharmā guṇāḥ ; tadatiśayahetavas tv alaṁkārāḥ.* It may be noted here that the term *alaṁkāra* in I.1.2 signifies embellishment, whereas it denotes a means of embellishment in III.1.2 and later in the work.

5. Cf. *Kāvyādarśa,* I. 41—42 ff.

figure, which only adds to that charm[6] and forms an element of subsidiary importance. The *guṇa* thus comes in him as a *sine qua non* or an indispensable condition in the production of poetic charm, whereas the *alaṃkāra* only contributes to its heightening and is, therefore, *anitya*, impermanent, *vis-a-vis* the *guṇa* which has specifically been described as *nitya*, permanent.[7] This definite differentiation between the two poetic elements, which we meet for the first time in Vāmana, was maintained in most of the later theorists.

Vāmana's treatment of the poetic excellences, which he enumerates as ten after Bharata and Daṇḍin, has certain peculiar features. Though he adopts the traditional nomenclature of these guṇas, he almost doubles their scope by classifying the ten guṇas into their verbal and ideal forms. Thus in him each *guṇa* commands a verbal and an ideal aspect. Though this sharp distinction clears away to some extent the element of vagueness that surrounds definitions of the individual *guṇas* in Bharata and Daṇḍin, yet it tends to create a confusion, at least in some cases, with regard to their scope as envisaged by their obviously significant designation. Vāmana's peculiar analysis of these *guṇas* with a marked departure, in some cases, from the earlier tradition shows beyond doubt that he has set forth his own theory in this behalf, and the presumption that he has developed his ideas from some writers now unknown to us, whose verses he is supposed to have quoted in support of his analysis (e.g. under III.1.9; 2.15 etc.)[8] is not at all warranted.

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6. Cf. *KASV*, III.1. 1-2 (cited above).

7. *Ibid.*, III.1.3.

8. S. K. De (*History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Calcutta, 1960; vol. ii, p. 94) advances this presumption.

Vāmana's Scheme of the Ten Guṇas

(1) The first *guṇa, ojas* (force), with reference to its verbal aspect, consists in compactness of *bandha* or the scheme of arrangement of words,[9] observed in such passages as *vilulitamakarandā mañjarīr nartayanti* and counter-illustrated with the passage *vilulitamadhudhārā mañjarīr lolayanti* (which displays rather loose *bandha*). This excellence may also be illustrated by the following verse from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṃbhava* (III.39) :

पर्याप्तपुष्पस्तबकस्तनाभ्यः स्फुरत्प्रवालोष्ठमनोहराभ्यः ।
लतावधूभ्यस्तरवोऽप्यवापुर्विनम्रशाखाभुजबन्धनानि ॥

In its ideal aspect, this *guṇa* denotes maturity of conception[10] which is said to have five forms, viz., (i) employment of a syntactical phrase in lieu of a single word ; e.g. in *atha nayanasamutthaṁ jyotir atrer iva dyauḥ*, where *atrer nayanasamutthaṁ jyotiḥ* (lit.='a luminary born from the eye of Atri') has been used for *candramas*, the moon; (ii) employment of a single word in lieu of a syntactical phrase; e.g., of the word *nimiṣati* (lit.='twinkles her eye') which may be used to denote that she is not a heavenly nymph but is a human damsel ; (iii) elaboration of an idea in a prolix manner ; e.g., in the following words of Duṣyanta reacting on seeing Śakuntalā being tormented by a bee, in Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (I.21) :

चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं स्पृशसि बहुशो वेपथुमतीं
रहस्याख्यायीव स्वनसि मृदु कर्णान्तिकचरः ।
करौ व्याधुन्वत्याः पिबसि रतिसर्वस्वमधरं
वयं तत्त्वान्वेषान्मधुकर हतास्त्वं खलु कृती ॥

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9. *KASV*, III. 1. 5 : *gāḍhabandhatvam ojaḥ.*

10. *Ibid.*, III.2.2 : *arthasya prauḍhir ojaḥ.*

(iv) compressing of an item of narration or description; e.g, in the following verse from the *Kumārasaṃbhava* (VI. 94):

ते हिमालयमामन्त्र्य पुनः प्राप्य च शूलिनम् ।
सिद्धं चास्मै निवेद्यार्थं तद्विसृष्टाः खमुद्ययुः ।।

and (v) significant use of a particular word; e.g. of *kapālinaḥ* (=of the god having a garland of skulls) in the famous verse from the above work of Kālidāsa (V.71):

द्वयं गतं सम्प्रति शोचनीयतां समागमप्रार्थनया कपालिनः ।
कला च सा कान्तिमती कलावतस्त्वमस्य लोकस्य च नेत्रकौमुदी।।

(2) *Prasāda* (lucidity) signifies, with reference to its verbal aspect, laxity of structure or a diffused sort of diction which comes in fusion with the excellence *ojas* either in its predominant or in subordinate form or in equal position.[11] Fused in the above manner with *ojas*, it falls within the orbit of an excellence and does in no way signify the opposite of *ojas* and form a defect. This *guṇa* has been illustrated by Vāmana with the following verses from Kālidāsa's works:

1. *Raghuvaṃśa*, III.70.:

अथ स विषयव्यावृत्तात्मा यथाविधि सूनवे नृपतिककुदं दत्त्वा यूने सितातपवारणम् ।
मुनिवनतरुच्छायां देव्या तया सह शिश्रिये गलितवयसामिक्ष्वाकूणामिदं हि कुलव्रतम् ।।

2. *Vikramorvaśīya*, III.10:

कुसुमशयनं न प्रत्यग्रं न चन्द्रमरीचयो न च मलयजं सर्वांगीणं न वा मणियष्टयः ।
मनसिजरुजं सा वा दिव्या ममालमपोहितुं रहसि लघयेदारब्धा वा तदाश्रयिणी कथा ।।

This *guṇa* in its ideal aspect, signifies clearness of meaning resulting from avoidance of superfluity.[12] This excel-

11. *Ibid.*, III. 1.6: *śaithilyam prasādaḥ*. Also cf. III.1.7–10 *vṛtti*, refuting its being a defect in its fusion with *ojas*.

12. *Ibid.*, III. 2.3: *arthavaimalyaṁ prasādaḥ*.

lence may be illustrated by the following verse from the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (IV.9), describing Śakuntalā's affectionate disposition towards the trees and plants of the hermitage and also her touching departure at the time from them all for her husband's home :

पातुं न प्रथमं व्यवस्यति जलं युष्मास्वपीतेषु या
नादत्ते प्रियमण्डनापि भवतां स्नेहेन या पल्लवम् ।
आद्ये वः कुसुमप्रसूतिसमये यस्या भवत्युत्सवः,
सेयं याति शकुन्तला पतिगृहं सर्वैरनुज्ञायताम् ॥

(3) *Śleṣa* (coalescence) consists, in its verbal form, in harmonious unification of words resulting in smoothness,[13] as, for example, in the following description of the Himālaya mountain in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* (I.1) :

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः ।
पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधी वगाह्य स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः ॥

In its ideal aspect, it denotes a communion of the qualities of proper sequence, strikingness, naturalness and appropriateness in a composition.[14] This may well be illustrated by the following verse depicting, in a suggestive manner, *beaute du diable* in Pārvatī observing severe austerity to win over her love, in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* (V.24) :

स्थिताः क्षणं पक्ष्मसु ताडिताधराः पयोधरोत्सेधनिपातचूर्णिताः ।
वलीषु तस्याः स्खलिताः प्रपेदिरे चिरेण नाभिं प्रथमोदबिन्दवः ॥

(4) *Samatā* (symmetry) signifies, in its verbal form, homogeneity of manner which implies retaining of the same

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13. *Ibid.*; III.1.11 : *masṛṇatvaṁ śleṣaḥ.*

14. *Ibid.*, III.2.4, *vṛtti* : *ghaṭanā śleṣaḥ. kramakauṭilyānulbaṇatvopapattiyogo ghaṭana.*

way of expression once followed in a stanza or a composition,[15] as we see in the works of Kālidāsa in general and in the verse *asty uttarasyām* etc. cited above or in the following verse from the *Raghuvaṃśa* (III.14) :

दिशः प्रसेदुर्मरुतो ववुः सुखाः प्रदक्षिणार्चिर्हविरग्निराददे ।
बभूव सर्वं शुभशंसि तत्क्षणं भवो हि लोकाभ्युदयाय तादृशाम् ॥

This *guṇa*, in its ideal form, consists in adherance to natural or proper sequence of ideas.[16] This may be illustrated by the verse describing Śakuntalā looking bewildered on having been repudiated by her love in the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (VI. 9) :

इतः प्रत्यादिष्टा स्वजनमनुगन्तुं व्यवसिता
स्थिता तिष्ठेत्युच्चैर्वदति गुरुशिष्ये गुरुसमे ।
पुनर्दृष्टिं बाष्पप्रसरकलुषामर्पितवती
मयि क्रूरे यत्तत्सविषमिव शल्यं दहति माम् ॥

According to the second interpretation given to it by Vāmana himself in his *vṛtti*, this *guṇa* signifies the quality of being easily comprehended, and thus becomes akin to the later concept of the *guṇa prasāda*. One may observe this quality in *asty uttarasyām* etc., cited above, or in the following verse describing Duṣyanta's reaction at the sight of Śakuntalā standing amidst red-robed ascetics in the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (V. 13) :

का स्विदवगुण्ठनवती नातिपरिस्फुटशरीरलावण्या ।
मध्ये तपोधनानां किसलयमिव पाण्डुपत्राणाम् ॥

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15. *Ibid.*, III.1.12 : *mārgābhedaḥ samatā.* This *guṇa* has been counter-illustrated by the verse :

प्रसीद चण्डि त्यज मन्युमञ्जसा जनस्तवायं पुरतः कृताञ्जलिः ।
किमर्थमुत्कम्पितपीवरस्तनद्वयं त्वया लुप्तविलासमास्यते ॥

Here the active construction in the first half of the verse has been placed by the passive one in the second half.

16. *Ibid.*, III.2.5 : *avaiṣamyaṁ samatā (avaiṣamyaṁ prakramābhedaḥ)* .

(5) *Samādhi* (harmony), as a *śabda-guṇa,* consists in the symphony brought about by orderly ascent (in the form of the abundant use of long syllables) and descent (in the form of a profusion of short syllables).[17] This symphony is two-fold : when the ascent is followed by descent, i.e. when the heightening effect is toned down by softening effect and *vice versa*. This is illustrated by the quarter-verse :

निवेशः स्वःसिन्धोस्तुहिनगिरिवीथीषु जयति ।

where *niveśaḥ svaḥsindhos* represents the ascent and *tuhina-giri-vīthīṣu jayati,* the descent. The *guṇa* may be illustrated by the following verse from the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (II.11) also :

अनाघ्रातं पुष्पं किसलयमलूनं कररुहैर्
अनाविद्धं रत्नं मधु नवमनास्वादितरसम् ।
अखण्डं पुण्यानां फलमिव च तद्रूपमनघं
न जाने भोक्तारं कमिह समुपस्थास्यति भुवि ।।

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17. *Ibid.*, III.1.13 : *ārohāvarohakramaḥ samādhiḥ*. In the submission *sūtras* and *vṛttis,* Vāmana poses the objection that since ascent represents *ojas* and descent may be identical with *prasāda,* this *samādhi* has no separate existence from the above two *guṇas* which constitute it. He then answers the above objection by contending that *samādhi* represents a fused or harmoniously unified form of ascent and descent, whereas these latter are observed in their independently separate forms in the *guṇas, ojas* and *prasāda*. Besides, he observes that ascent is not a necessary condition of *ojas,* nor is descent a necessary condition of *prasāda*. It may, however, be well accepted if ascent is understood as heightened form of *ojas* and descent as heightened form of *prasāda*. In this case, the heightened condition would constitute a special feature, and this could well establish that *samādhi* forms a separate and independent *guṇa*.

In its ideal form, this *guṇa* denotes grasping of, or insight into, a striking idea either born of one's own imagination or inspired by the poetry of a fellow poet.[18] Instances of these two kinds of *samādhi* are :

1. *Vikramorvaśīya,* IV. 28 :

तरंगभ्रूभंगा क्षुभितविहगश्रेणिरशना
विकर्षन्ती फेनं वसनमिव संरम्भशिथिलम् ।
यथाविद्धं याति स्खलितमभिसंधाय बहुशो
नदीभावेनेयं ध्रुवमसहना सा परिणता ॥

2. *Kumārasaṃbhava,* V. 85 :

तं वीक्ष्य वेपथुमती सरसांगयष्टिर्निक्षेपणाय पदमुद्धृतमुद्वहन्ती ।
मार्गाचलव्यतिकराकुलितेव सिन्धुः शैलाधिराजतनया न ययौ न तस्थौ ॥

(6) *Mādhurya* (pleasingness) denotes, in its verbal form, distinctness of words brought about by absence of long compounds,[19] as, for example, in *asty uttarasyām* etc., cited above, or in the following verse from the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (I.9) :

यदालोके सूक्ष्मं व्रजति सहसा तद् विपुलतां
यदर्धे विच्छिन्नं भवति कृतसन्धानमिव तत् ।
प्रकृत्या यद् वक्रं तदपि समरेखं नयनयोर्
न मे दूरे किंचित्क्षणमपि न पार्श्वे रथजवात् ॥

A counter example of this *guṇa* is :

चलितशबरसेनादत्तगोशृंगचण्ड–
ध्वनिचकितवराहव्याकुला विन्ध्यपादाः ।

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18. *Ibid.,* III.2.6-7 : *arthadṛṣṭiḥ samādhiḥ. artho dvividhaḥ, ayonir anyacchāyāyoniś ca.* Cf. *vṛtti* also.

19. *Ibid.,* III.1.21 : *pṛthakpadatvaṁ mādhuryam....,* cf. *vṛtti :...samāsa-dairghyavinivṛttiparaṁ caitat.*

In its ideal form, this excellence consists in strikingness of utterance, i.e. saying in an impressive periphrastic manner,[20] approximating itself to Kuntaka's concept of *vakrokti*.[21] The following verse describing disarming charm of Pārvatī's smile in a striking manner in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* (I.44) may illustrate this *guṇa* :

पुष्पं प्रवालोपहितं यदि स्यान्मुक्ताफलं वा यदि विद्रुमस्थम् ।
ततोऽनुकुर्याद् विशदस्य तस्यास्ताम्रोष्ठपर्यस्तरुचः स्मितस्य ॥

(7) *Saukumārya* (tenderness), in its verbal aspect, signifies absence of harshness of diction ;[22] in other words, it consists in softness of diction, as observed in the verse, *asty uttarasyām* etc., cited above, or in the following verse from the *Kumārasaṃbhava* (III.21) :

मधुश्च ते मन्मथ साहचर्यादसावनुक्तोऽपि सहाय एव ।
समीरणो नोदयिता भवेति व्यादिश्यते केन हुताशनस्य ॥

This *guṇa* has been counter illustrated with the following :

निदानं निर्द्वैतं प्रियजनसदृक्त्वव्यवसितिः
सुधासेकग्लोषो फलमपि विरुद्धं मम हृदि ॥

In its ideal aspect, it consists in euphemistic expression of an inauspicious or unpleasant thing,[23] as in the following description of Raghu's death which has been represented here as his union with the eternal soul in the *Raghuvaṃśa* (VIII.24):

अथ काश्चिदजव्यपेक्षया गमयित्वा समदर्शनः समाः ।
तमसः परमापदव्ययं पुरुषं योगसमाधिना रघुः ॥

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20. *Ibid.*, III.2.10 : *uktivaicitryaṁ mādhuryam.*

21. Cf. *Vakroktijīvita*, I.10, *vṛtti* : *vakroktiḥ prasiddhābhidhānavyatirekiṇī vicitraivābhidhā.*

22. *KASV*, III.12.22 :*ajaraṭhatvaṁ saukumāryam.*

23. *Ibid.*, III.2.11 : *apāruṣyaṁ saukumāryam.*

(8) *Udāratā* (picturesqueness), in its verbal form, denotes liveliness of diction in which the words seem as if they are dancing,[24] as, for example, in

स्वचरणविनिविष्टैर्नूपुरैर्नर्तकीनां
झणिति रणितमासीत् तत्र चित्रं कलं च ।

or in the following verse from the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (I. 18):

सरसिजमनुविद्धं शैवलेनापि रम्यं मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति ।
इयमधिकमनोज्ञा वल्कलेनापि तन्वी किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम् ॥

Such liveliness is absent in a diction like:

चरणकमललग्नैर्नूपुरैर्नर्तकीनां
झटिति रणितमासीन्मञ्जु चित्रं च तत्र ।

In its ideal form, this *guṇa* conveys loftiness, denoting as it does absence of indecency even when there could be an occasion for it,[25] as in the following words addressed to Śakuntalā by Duṣyanta describing his deep and devastating love for her in the *Abhijñāna-śākuntala* (III. 14):

तपति तनुगात्रि मदनस्त्वामनिशं मां पुनर्दहत्येव ।
ग्लपयति यथा शशांकं न तथा हि कुमुद्वतीं दिवसः ॥

Vāmana provides its counterillustration in the verse:

स्वपिति यावदयं निकटे जनः स्वपिमि तावदहं किमपैति ते ।
इति निगद्य शनैरनुमेखलं मम करं स्वकरेण रुरोध सा ॥

(9) *Arthavyakti* (explicitness), in its verbal form, consists in explicitness of words whereby the meaning is easily apprehended; the meaning herein manifests itself as it were

24. *Ibid.*, III.1.23: *vikaṭatvam udāratā*; cf. *vṛtti*: *yasmin sati nṛtyantīva padānīti janasya varṇabhāvanā bhavati tad vikaṭatvaṁ līlāyamānatvam ity arthaḥ.*

25. *Ibid.*, III.2.12: *agrāmyatvam udāratā.*

even before the actual occurrence of the words.[26] This excellence is best illustrated by the poesy of Kālidāsa in general and by his verses such as the following in particular :

1. *Kumārasaṃbhava*, I. 1 (cited above) ;
2. *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, I.10 :

न खलु न खलु बाणः संनिपात्योऽयमस्मिन्मृदुनि मृगशरीरे तूलराशाविवाग्निः ।
क्व बत हरिणकानां जीवितं चातिलोलं क्व च निशितनिपाता वज्रसाराः शरास्ते ॥

Counterillustrations of this *guṇa* are numerous and are commonly observed in the writings of poets of mediocre genius.

In its ideal aspect, this excellence signifies a vivid description of an object, which makes its true nature appear before our eyes.[27] Closely akin to the figure *svabhāvokti*, this *guṇa* may be illustrated by the following description, in the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (1.7), of the antelope that runs in quandary for safety on seeing the king Duṣyanta on a hunting errand :

ग्रीवाभङ्गाभिरामं मुहुरनुपतति स्यन्दने बद्धदृष्टिः
पश्चार्धेन प्रविष्टः शरपतनभयाद् भूयसा पूर्वकायम् ।
दर्भैरर्धावलीढैः श्रमविवृतमुखभ्रंशिभिः कीर्णवर्त्मा
पश्योदग्रप्लुतत्वाद् वियति बहुतरं स्तोकमुर्व्यां प्रयाति ॥

(10) *Kānti* (brilliance), in its verbal form, denotes freshness of word-texture, in the absence of which the diction may be branded as 'worn-out'.[28] This excellence is illustrated by

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26. *Ibid.*, III.1.24 : *arthavyaktihetutvam arthavyaktiḥ.*

27. *Ibid.*, III.2.13 : *vastusvabhāvasphuṭatvam arthavyaktiḥ.*

28. *Ibid.*, III.1.25 : *aujjvalyaṁ kāntiḥ.* Cf. *vṛtti* : *yadabhāve purāṇacchāyety ucyate.*

the quarter-verse : *kuraṅgī-netrālī-stabakita-vanālī-parisaraḥ* ("where the forest region was studded as it were with the eyes of the wandering fawns") Here the use of the word *netrā-samūha, stabakita* for *parivyāpta* and *vanālī-parisara* for *vanapradeśa* bring about a kind of freshness or brilliance of diction. The following verse from the *Meghadūta* (I.47) may also be cited as an apt example of this *guṇa*:

तामुत्तीर्य व्रज परिचितभ्रूलताविभ्रमाणां
पक्ष्मोत्क्षेपादुपरिविलसत्कृष्णशारप्रभाणाम् ।
कुन्दक्षेपानुगमधुकरश्रीमुषामात्मबिम्बं
पात्रीकुर्वन् दशपुरवधूनेत्रकौतूहलानाम् ॥

In this stanza the use of the word *bhrūlatā* for *bhrū*, *kṛṣṇaśāraprabha* for *kṛṣṇaśāra*, *śrīmuṣ* for *sadṛśa* and *netra-kautūhalamaya-netra* bring about brilliance of imagination. Similarly in the passage *pratyūṣeṣu sphuṭitakamalā-modamaitrīkaṣāyaḥ* (*śiprāvātaḥ*) in the same work (I.31), the use of the phrase *āmoda-maitrī-kaṣāya* ('fragrant owing to the pleasing contract of the sweet-smelling blossoms of the lotuses') eminently commands this brilliance.

In its ideal aspect, this *guṇa* denotes brilliance of *rasa* ; it consists in prominence accorded to the sentiments such as those of love, heroism, pathos etc. in a poetic composition.[29] Such prominence commanded by the sentiment of love in separation may be illustrated by the following words of the lover Yakṣa pining away in separation from her beloved communicated, in a message through Megha, to her in the *Meghadūta* (II. 42) :

त्वामालिख्य प्रणयकुपितां धातुरागैः शिलायाम्
आत्मानं ते चरणपतितं यावदिच्छामि कर्तुम् ।
अस्रैस्तावन्मुहुरुपचितैर्दृष्टिरालुप्यते मे
क्रूरस्तस्मिन्नपि न सहते संगमं नौ कृतान्तः ॥

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29. *Ibid.*, III.2.14 : *dīptarasatvaṁ kāntiḥ.*

Anticipating the objection that the above *guṇas* have no absolute existence, Vāmana observes that their existence is vouched by their unmistakable cognition as such by men of taste and that these *guṇas* are not mere *pāṭhadharmas* to be found in all cases of composition but result from a careful cultivation of certain well-defined excellences of aesthetic effect on the part of the poet.[30]

Vāmana's treatment of the *guṇas*, though registering a distinct advance on that accorded to them by Bharata and Daṇḍin, suffers from certain basic defects. Thus in his attempt to make his analysis more systematic, Vāmana has in fact made it rather more symmetrical in an unwelcome sense and also more pedantic, often with farfetched and hence unconvincing interpretation and exposition of some of the *guṇas*. His analysis, therefore, has been ignored or abandoned or refuted by later theorists of note.

Vāmana, like Daṇḍin, built up the edifice of his concept of *rīti* and its categories on the foundation of these ten *guṇas*. It appears that he was eager to give representation to the literary style of the north alongside those of the east and the south of the earlier tradition, for he enumerated and elaborated three *rītis*, namely, *Pāñcālī, Gauḍī* and Vaidarbhī, representing respectively the above three styles, in place of the earlier two, viz., Gauḍī and Vaidarbhī described by Daṇḍin. He was, however, wise enough to make the observation of caution that the geographical nomenclature of these *rītis* does not imply their inseparable

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30. *Ibid.*, III.1.26–28, *vṛtti*.

inherence or connection with the region they have been named after.[31]

Of the above three *rītis,* while Gauḍī and *Pāñcālī* stand opposed to each other, the Vaidarbhī represents a composite character. Conceived as an ideal style to be pursued in a poetic composition, this *rīti* has been described as possessing all the excellences in a harmonious and a conspicuous manner.[32] It may be, however, too much to expect that a piece of literary composition must of necessity command a possession of all the *guṇas,* some of which may tend to be fully or partially opposed to each other. The above dictum should, therefore, be taken to mean that a piece of literary writing prominently characterised by most of the above *guṇas* may be said to be representing Vaidarbhī *rīti.* A harmonious co-existence of these *guṇas* has been termed by Vāmana as *kāvya-pāka* ('mature or full development of poesy') which constitutes a characteristic feature of this *rīti.*[33] This *pāka* has elsewhere been described by Vāmana as a peculiar sequence of words (*padānupūrvī*), which is pleasing to the ear and which makes an unreal object look real.[34]

Apart from *kāvya-pāka,* which is essentially a richness of verbal qualities, a rich crop of ideal excellences has also

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31. *Ibid.,* I.2.10 and *vṛtti.* Amongst later writers, Kuntaka altogether discarded the geographical nomenclature of the *rītis,* i.e., *mārgas ;* cf. *Vakroktijīvita,* I. 24 *vṛtti* (pp. 40-41).

32. *KASV,* I.2.11, *vṛtti.*

33. *Ibid.,* III.2.14 *vṛtti* (*parikara-śloka* 23).

34. *Ibid.,* I.2.21 *vṛtti* (*parikara-śloka* 8); I. 3.15 (*parikara-śloka* 3).

been said to characterise the Vaidarbhī *rīti,* which has been eulogised by Vāmana in the following stanzas :

अस्पृष्टा दोषमात्राभिः समग्रगुणगुम्फिता ।
विपञ्चीस्वरसौभाग्या वैदर्भी रीतिरिष्यते ॥
सति वक्तरि सत्यर्थे सति शब्दानुशासने ।
अस्ति तन्न विना येन परिस्रवति वाङ्मधु ॥

The Vaidarbhī *rīti* is an unblemished poetic texture which is woven with the thread of the entire gamut of excellences and commands the pleasingness of the melody of a lute. Vaidarbhī is that ineffable quality of expression in the absence of which no mead of speech flows around even when words and ideas and their weaver are conspicuous by their presence.[35]

Vāmana illustrates this *rīti* with the following verse from the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (II.6) reporting the king Duṣyanta's bidding his army men to stop hunting forthwith and let the hermitage animals wander about at will :

गाहन्तां महिषा निपानसलिलं शृङ्गैर्मुहुस्ताडितं
छायाबद्धकदम्बकं मृगकुलं रोमन्थमभ्यस्यतु ।
विस्रब्धं कुरुतां वराहविततिर्मुस्ताक्षतिं पल्वले
विश्रामं लभतामिदं च शिथिलज्याबन्धमस्मद्धनुः ॥

It may be observed here that the verses cited above from Kālidāsa's works as examples of different excellences, both in their verbal and ideal aspects, illustrate this *rīti* in an eminent way.

Of the other two *rītis* which are generally opposed to each other, the *Pāñcālī rīti* commands a prominence of the excellences of *mādhurya* (distinctness of words brought about by absence of long compounds and striking-

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35. *Ibid.,* I.2.11 *vṛtti* (*parikara-śloka* 1-2).

ness of utterance and *saukumārya* (softness of diction and euphemistic expression of an unpleasant thing) and is characterised by a general absence of the *guṇas, ojas* and *kānti,* both in their verbal and ideal aspects, with the resultant concomitance of an unassuming and a diffused kind of diction with an element of laxity and a touch of antiqueness or old convention.[36] Vāmana illustrates this *rīti* with the following stanza of unknown source :

ग्रामेऽस्मिन् पथिकाय पान्थ वसतिर्नैवाधुना दीयते
रात्रावत्र विहारमण्डपतले पान्थः प्रसुप्तो युवा ।
तेनोत्थाय खलेन गर्जति घने स्मृत्वा प्रियां तत्कृतं
येनाद्यापि करंकदण्डपतनाशंकी जनस्तिष्ठति ॥

O traveller, no shelter is provided now for any wayfarer in this village of ours, because a young man was allowed recently to sleep in the courtyard of a house here, but as the clouds thundered that wretch, remembering his beloved afar, got up and did that by which the people here are still afraid that the ghost (of his hostess) might one day haunt them.

This verse records a wanton lady's veiled permission to a youthful wayfarer seeking shelter for night to stay in her house in case he is not already in love with another woman.[37]

The Gauḍīyā *rīti,* on the other hand, has been described by Vāmana as characterised by the excellences, *ojas*

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36. *Ibid.,* I.2.13, *vṛtti.*

37. This verse has been differently interpreted by some writers, and Mahimabhaṭṭa (*Vyaktiviveka,* ed., R.P. Dwivedi, Varanasi, 1964 ; p. 486) rightly refutes their view. Cf also K. Krishnamoorthy's article "New Light on Bharata's Lakṣaṇa and Related Concepts" in *Recent Studies in Sanskrit and Indology* (Prof. Jagannath Agrawal Felicitation Volume) (ed. D.K. Gupta, Delhi, 1972), pp. 156-57.

(compactness of *bandha* and maturity of conception) and *kānti* (brilliance or freshness of *bandha* and prominence of sentiments, which command in it a predominant position, and is marked by a general absence of the excellences, *mādhurya* and *saukumārya,* with the resultant concomitance of a profusion of compounds and a distinct touch of a pompous and high-sounding diction.[38] Vāmana illustrates this diction with the following verse from Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita* (I.54):

दोर्दण्डाञ्चितचन्द्रशेखरधनुर्दण्डावभंगोद्यतष्
टंकारध्वनिरार्यबालचरितप्रस्तावनाडिण्डिमः ।
द्राक्पर्यस्तकपालसम्पुटमिलद्ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोदर-
भ्राम्यत्पिण्डितचण्डिमा कथमहो नाद्यापि विश्राम्यति ॥

The twang, which emanated from the staff of Śiva's bow bent and broken by his (Rāma's) strong arms and which was the trumpet sound proclaiming to the world his youthful prowess, ceases not even today when its fierceness has been contracted whilst moving about in the interior of the vessel of the universe formed by putting together the fast resolving halves of the primordial cosmic egg.

As Vāmana observes, poetry takes its stand on the above three *rītis,* just as painting bases itself on the lines drawn on the canvas.[39] The theorist here appears to tacitly admit a combination of the three *rītis* in a poetic composition and discards in a way the possibility of adhering to a particular diction throughout the writings of a particular poet or a playright; and we have happy instances of this phenomenon in the history of Sanskrit literature.

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38. *KASV*, I.2.12, *vṛtti*.

39. *Ibid.,* I.2.13 *vṛtti* : *etāsu tisṛṣu rītiṣu rekhāsv iva citraṁ kāvyaṁ pratiṣṭhitam.*

It must be admitted, however, that Vāmana has a distinct predilection for the first, that is, the Vaidarbhī *rīti*, which, according to him, commands a harmonious aggregate of all the poetic excellences in contradistinction with the other two *rītis* which possess only some of these excellences and have, therefore, a restricted scope for poetic merit.[40]

The *rīti* theory, in spite of its laboured analysis in Vāmana's work and also in the writings of some other theorists, could not win acceptance of the later writers in the form in which its propounder conceived it, i.e. as the soul of poetry, for the obvious reason that, while formulating this theory, it's expounders comprehended poetry only from the point of view of its form and conceived their *rīti* as a sort of formal arrangement of words and letters or a peculiar disposition or posture of parts capable of empirically objective analysis and assessment. However, this concept, as also the threefold categorisation of *rīti* as enumerated in Vāmana's work did receive recognition in the works of later theorists as a poetic doctrine which bearing the name *saṁghaṭanā* (texture) and taking its stand on the excellences, *prasāda, oja*s and *mādhurya* (conceived as attributes inherent in the principal element, *i.e. rasa*) contributed to the realisation of aesthetic pleasure (*rasa*), to which it stood in the same relation in which the bodily form stood to the soul.[41] The con-

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40. *Ibid.*, I.2.14 ff. and *vṛtti*.

41. Cf. Ānandavardhana in *Dhvanyāloka* (ed. Jagannath Pathak, Varanasi, 1965), III.6; Mammaṭa in *Kāvyaprakāśa* (ed. V. R. Jhalakikar, Poona, 1965), VIII. k. 66; and Viśvanātha in *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (ed. K. M. Thakur, Chaukhamba Publications, Varanasi, 1947), I.3, *vṛtti* and VIII. 1, *vṛtti*. For a detailed discussion of the concept of *mārga* in Daṇḍin and Kuntaka, see D.K. Gupta's papers in *Ṛtam*

cept of *rīti* was sometimes approximated to, or even identified with, the concept of *vṛtti*, though with little justification and success.

(Dr. Baburam Saksena Felicitation Volume), Lucknow, 1983, pp. 189–96 and *Śrī-Jagannātha-Jyotiḥ*, Sanskrit University, Puri, I.1 (1983), pp. 81–102 respectively.

PROSTITUTION IN ANCIENT INDIA

DR. KRISHNA MURARI
Bodh Gaya

The practice of prostitution in India may be traced back to remote hoary past. *Ṛv.* refers to secret love affairs and prostitutes. By the time of *Mahābhārata*, the institution was well established. *Kāmasūtra* describes *Veśyā* as proficient in 84 *Kalās*. Smṛtis made provisions for the maintenance of concubines. With the rise of Temple art and its grandeur, the need of attaching singing girls to temples was felt to please and serve the gods by their music, and in this way, also to attract a huge gathering of worshippers to enhance the income of the temples. Thus the institution of prostitution got nourishment in temples. But modern age has rooted out this evil practice from Indian Society.

The institution of prostitution, which has become common in all the parts of the world in modern times, was not unknown in ancient India. The origin and growth of this institution in India is not much clear and did not follow uniform pattern in various parts of the country. However we find traces of this institution on social practice in ancient literature although the system differed from what it exists today. The peculiar thing about this social practice in ancient India was that at the initial stage it originated out of a divine usage which sought to please

gods with the association of dancing girls in the temples meant for religious pursuits. It was a common feeling among the Indians of early period that there should be singing girls attached to shrines and temples to play music on the occasion of religious citations. In due course these dancing or singing girls became the *nucleus* of the institution of prostitution in ancient India.

In the *Ṛgveda* we find that there were women who were courtezans or prostitutes, common to several men. The Maruts (storm gods) are said to have become associated with the young lightning, just as men become associated with young women, courtezans or prostitutes.[1] In the *Ṛgveda* reference is made to a women who gives birth to a child in secret and leaves it aside.[2] There is a reference to a secret lover. It is said that for killing a woman who is a brāhmaṇa by birth only and who practises harlotry, no *Prāyaścitta* is necessary but eight handfuls of corn may be gifted.[3] Manu forbids a brāhmaṇa from taking food offered by harlots, and Manu requires the king to punish clever or deceitful harlots.[4]

From the *Mahābhārata* we learn that the courtezans had an established institution. The *Ādiparva* narrates how a *Veśyā* waited upon Dhṛtarāṣṭra when his wife Gāndhārī was pregnant.[5] In the *Udyoga parva* Yudhiṣṭhira sends

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1. *Ṛgveda* I.167.
2. *Ṛgveda* II.29.1.
3. *Ṛgveda* I.66.4., I.117., I.8, I.134.3.
4. *Manu* IV.209.219, IX.259.
5. *Mahābhārata,* Ādiparva 115, 39.

greetings to the *Veśyās* of the Kauravas.[6] Courtezans are described as going out to welcome Kṛṣṇa when He came on a mission of peace to the Kaurava-court.[7] When the Pāṇḍava armies began their march to the battlefield, it is said that carts, markets and courtezans also accompanied them.[8]

Courtezans or concubines were divided into two sorts; *Avaruddhā*—one who is kept in the house itself and forbidden to have intercourse with any other male, and *Bhujiṣyā*—concubine who is not kept in the house, but elsewhere and is in the special keeping of a person; and prescribes a fine of fifty *paṇas* against another person having intercourse with her.

Nārada says that physical contact with women was permissible if the latter desired so, except women belonging to the brāhmaṇa caste, with a prostitute, a female slave, or a female not restrained by her master, if these belong to a caste lower than oneself; but it is forbidden with women of superior caste. Nārada stipulated that physical intercourse could be allowed with a female slave if her master permitted her to do so. Nārada mentions that physical contact of a stranger with the kept mistresses of a person was as much a crime as intercourse with another's wife. Such women must not be approached, though intercourse with them was not forbidden on the ground of caste.[9]

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6. *Udyoga parva.* 30, 38.

7. *Udyoga parva.* 86.115.

8. *Udyoga parva.* 151.58., *Vanaparva,* 239, 37, *Karṇaparva,* 94, 96, *Yāj.* II.290.

9. *Ibid.*

In the *Skanda Purāṇa,* we find references to the effect that prostitutes constituted a separate caste, and *Apsarās* called *Pancacūḍās* or such courtezans as are not kept specially by a person, do not incur any sin, nor punishment at the hands of the king, if they have intercourse with men of the same or a superior caste, nor to men approaching them incur any penalty if they are not *avaruddhā.* But the men who visit them incur sin, which is an unseen result, since the *Smṛtis* ordain that men should be devoted to their wives, the *Prājāpatya* penance is prescribed for him who has intercourse with a *Veśyā.* Nārada lays down that if a public woman refused to oblige any of her customers, she had to pay twice the amount of the fee she usually charged for establishing contacts with customers and the same fine was to be imposed on man who did not pay the fee, after having had intercourse with *Veśyā.*[10] The *Kāmasūtra* defines a *gaṇikā* as a *Veśyā,* who is most accomplished and proficient in the eightyfour *Kalās.*

When temples of Hindu gods came to be built and endowed on a magnificent scale, some people began to feel in the course of time that there should be singing girls attached to shrines to play music on the occasion of different services and worship of the day.

The custom of the association of dancing girls with temples is unknown to *Jātaka* literature. It is not mentioned by Greek writers too. The *Arthaśāstra,* which describes in details the life and duties of dancing girls is also silent about prostitution.[11]

The custom, however, came into vogue by about the 3rd century A.D. Kālidāsa refers to dancing girls present

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10. *Yāj.* 11.252, *Matsya Purāṇa* 227, 144-145.

11. *Arthaśāstra.* 11.27.

in *Mahākāla* temple of Ujjayinī at the time of the evening worship.[12] Several Purāṇas also recommended that arrangements should be made to enlist the services of singing girls to provide vocal and instrumental music at the time of divine service. These singing girls were prostitutes and we find that some of the Purāṇas had gone to the extent of recommending the purchase of beautiful girls for their dedication to temples. Further, it was thought that the best way to win *Surya-loka* was to dedicate prostitutes to the sun temple. For this, parents dedicated their first born child to a temple and thus increased the number of temple girls. This custom probably became quite common in the 6th century A.D. when most of the Purāṇas containing a reference to it seem to have been composed. In the seventh century Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller, saw numerous singing girls in the temple of the SUN at Multan. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* attests to the existence of this custom in Kashmir from about the 7th century A.D.[13] The famous temple of Somanātha is said to have employed five hundred dancing girls in order to provide music before the deity continuously through out the day and night. Several inscriptions from south India prove the association of dancing girls with temple service from about the 9th century A.D. When king Rājarāja built the famous Tanjor temple in 10th century A.D. he provided for a temple service by not less than 400 dancing girls.

Information about the social life is indeed scanty. Polygamy was known and practised. Several Chālukya

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12. *Meghadūta.* I.35.

13. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*–IV.31.

monarchs married more than one wife. The nobles and wealthy people probably followed the example of their rulers. Concubinage appears to have been popular. Inscriptions frequently refer to the gifts made by the Ianja-Pendlams or mistress wives of several chiefs to temples. The existence of courtesans in large numbers attached to the courts of the kings and nobles as well as the innumerable temples in the land must have fostered its growth and encouraged people to form irregular unions with members of the community without social opprobrium. Instances of regular marriage alliances with the courtesans are not unknown. Goṇka I married a *Patra* or dancer attached to one of the temples in his kingdom. Though the courtesans followed prostitution as a profession, they were not without commendable qualities. They cultivated fine arts, specially music and dance and pleased people of their learned and witty conversation. They were deeply religious in their own way; they not only served the gods by song and dance but made valuable gifts of land and money to the temples, and believed that their profession was no bar for their admission into heaven.

The introduction of dancing girls in temples tended to lower their moral and spiritual atmosphere. Some people started to visit shrines not so much to pay their respects to deities, as to carry on their love intrigues with the singing girls employed there. References are there to show that sometimes this used to happen even in the famous temple of Viśvanātha at Varanasi. The custom was opposed by all the champions of social purity like the Brāhmaṇas and ascetics. Alberuni refers to this opposition and says that it proved of no avail, because the custom was championed by kings and members of the aristocracy. An ins-

cription of 10th century of Rajputana confirms the statements of Alberuni. It records the instruction of a chieftain to his descendants that if the arrangement that he had made about the services of dancing girls at different temples was interfered with by ascetics and Brāhmaṇas, they should be stopped at once.[14] It is clear from the records that the majority of the Brāhmaṇas and Puritanical thinkers strongly favoured the association of dancing girls with temples up to 10th century A.D., and even their kings did not dare to oppose the practice of associating dancing girls with the religious shrines.

It confirms the statements of the Purāṇas which recommend the employment of dancing girls in temples, represent the view of a majority of the Brāhmaṇa community, which in its zeal to provide pomp and splendour to temple service failed to realise the natural effects of the new practices on the moral and spiritual atmosphere of divine shrines. All the religious leaders of the community however fought against this innovation. But this opposition, proved of no avail. The royal support eventually succeeded in making the custom general and popular.[15]

The association of dancing girls with temples was not only confined to India but fairly common in several other countries in ancient times. In Egypt temples of Osiris and Isis were crowded with dancing girls. In Greece thousands of women used to dedicate themselves to Venus and sell their bodies for the benefit of the temple. This type

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14. *Epigraphia Indica*—XI. p. 28.

15. Dr. A. S. Altekar, *The position of women in Hindu Çivilisation*—"Women in Public life"—Ch. VI, pp. 182, 184, 185.

of custom was prevalent among the Hebrews and Babylonians as well.[16]

Prostitution has existed from the dawn of history in all countries and in the absence of statistics it is difficult to say whether it flourished more in one country than in another or whether it existed to a greater or lesser extent in ancient days as compared with modern times.

As the practice of prostitution was gradually accepted by the society it made provision for their maintenance in the *Smṛtis.* During the life-time of a person keeping a concubine, the latter has no legal right to proceed against the former. Nārada and Kātyāyana lay down that even when the property of a deceased person escheats to the king for want of their heir, except in the case of a brāhmaṇa, the king has first to provide for the maintenance of the concubines of the deceased, of his slaves and for his *Śrāddhas.* The concubines referred to are those called *Avaruddhā* and not *Bhujiṣyā* and that even the kept mistresses of a deceased brāhmaṇa are entitled for maintenance from his property. The privy council have gone much ahead in giving material protection to all the concubines—whether kept in the house practically as members of the family, i. e. *Avaruddhā* or not so kept, i. e. *Bhujiṣyā* within the exclusive keeping of a Hindu till his death. These are entitled to maintenance from his property after his death. Even the illegitimate children of concubines had some share in the property of the person keeping concubines, if he died issueless.[17]

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16. *Ibid.*

17. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharamaśāstra,* Vol. II.I, Ch. XVI, p. 637 to 639.

The modern Hindu public opinion is deadly opposed to the association of dancing girls with temple service. The dedication of girls to temples was legally prohibited first in Madras state. It is not permissible now in any part of India. The custom has now disappeared from the country.

MAHENDRA NĀTHA OF KĀLIDĀSA

A REAPPRAISAL

DR. SUDARSHAN KUMAR SHARMA
Bhatinda

The author has tried here to review the theories of scholars regarding the identification of 'Mahendra' and 'Mahendranātha' etc. referred to in connection with the 'digvijaya' of Raghu, in *Raghuvaṃśa* IV.39, 43 and VI.53, 54. In Raghu's 'digvijaya', the scholars allude to 'digvijaya' of 'Samudragupta' referred to in *Prayāga-praśasti* belonging to 4th century A.D. who is said to have wrested the 'śrī' and not the 'medinī' of Mahendranātha. Mahendranātha (*Raghuvaṃśa* IV.43) may be identified as Svāmidatta, the joint ruler of Piṭhāpur and Koṭhūr (N. S. Kalinga). Mahendra of *Raghu.* IV.39 may be the Nala king Mahendrāditya of Mahākośala. In VI.53, Kālidāsa's reference to Kaliṅganātha as Hemāṅgada may be presumed as Mahendra and Mahendranātha.

Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṃśa* (canto IV) has given a graphic account of the *Digvijaya* of Raghu. The Scholars of repute probing into the various problems of Epigraphy have construed in this *Digvijaya* a covert allusion to the *Digvijaya* of Samudragupta Parākramāṅka whose *Prayāga-Praśasti* is copiously rich in information of this type.

Raghuvaṃśa[1] (IV.43) alludes to Raghu as a *Dharmavijayī* (a righteous conqueror) King who wrested the Sovereignty (Śrī) but not the medinī (Earth) of Mahendranātha first made captive by him and later on released.

P. L. Miśra[2] has discussed in details "King Mahendra of Allahabad Praśasti" in *Indian Historical Quarterly* and concluded such facts as under :

Mahendra of Coins and Mahendra of *Allahabad Praśasti* must be identical. And as the Mahendra of *Praśasti* belonged to the third quarter of the fourth century, these Coins should be taken as of the same date. At that time the Nalas were ruling over this region and, therefore, he was a Nala Ruler.[3] Dr. Radha Kumuda Mookarji[4] takes Kośala as the Southern Kośala with its capital Śrīpura, modern Sirpur in C.P. (Modern M.P.), and included the Eastern and Southern districts of Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur and also parts of Gañjam district. The king of this Kośala was Mahendra.[5] Dr. Mookarji is followed by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari, Dr. R. S. Tripathi,[6] Sudhakara

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1. *Gṛhītapratimuktasya sa dharmavijayī nṛpaḥ*
Śriyaṃ Mahendranāthasya Jahāra na tu medinīṃ.

Kālidāsa granthāvalī by Dr. Reva Prasada Dwivedi, p. 129 ; p. 107 R. G. Nandargikar's Edition.

2. *IHQ.* Vol. XXXVII No. 1, March 1961, pp. 23-30.

3. "Prayāga stone Pillar inscription of Samudragupta", Lines 19-20, Dr. Raj Bali Pandeya, *Historical and Literary Inscriptions,* p. 74.

4. *The Gupta Empire,* p. 20.

5. *Political History of Ancient India,* pp. 538-39.

6. *History of Ancient India,* p. 244.

Chattopadhyaya,[7] Dr. R. C. Majumdar.[8] (Mahendra of Kośala in the upper Mahānadī Valley).[9]

All these allusions make it manifest that Kauśalaka Mahendra was included in the list of *"Sarvadakṣiṇāpatha-rājagrahaṇamokṣānugrahajanitapratāponmiśramāhābhāgya-sya'*.[10] Kauśalaka Mahendra of the Kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha who were obliged by release after having been subjugated by Samudragupta, was none but the "Mahendrāditya" the Nala King referred to by P. L. Miśra on the one hand and Dr. V. V. Mirashi[11] on the other. But Kālidāsa has categorically employed the term 'Mahendranāthasya' in his *Raghuvaṃśa* IV.43—starting with the conquest of Suhma, Vaṅga, Utkala, Kaliṅga.[12] In IV-39, "He planted his mighty prowess on the head (Peak) of the mountain Mahendra just as a driver does his sharp goad in the head of (Gambhīravedī) (Not easily sensitive to pain) elephant."[13]

But R. G. Nandargikar translates it as "He planted his unbearable prowess in the head (Crown summit) of the Mahendra just as the elephant driver does his sharp

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7. *Early History of Northern India*, p. 185.

8. *Gupta Vākāṭaka Age*, p. 133.

9. *An Advanced History of India*, p. 147.

10. Cf. 4 above.

11. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. III, pp. 99, 100.

12. *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV.35-38.

13. *Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa*, English Translation (I-IV), p. 29, M. R. Kale.

goad in that of an unweildy elephant (that does not mind the pricking of the pain)",[14] wherein he has used the word 'Mahendra' which can be construed in a different sense from that of the mountain also.

Kāverī Sarit (Stream) and Malayādri[15] follow this description of Mahendra and Mahendranātha, obviously making it manifest that he is describing the conquest of Raghu in the Southern part of India wherein Mahendra mountain has a wider popularity. Hence 'Mahendranātha' of Kālidāsa alludes to some King who was an overlord of 'Mahendra'.

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14. *"Saḥ Pratāpaṃ mahendrasya mūrdhni tīkṣṇaṃ nyaveśayat/ aṅkuśaṃ dviradasyeva yantā gambhīravedinaḥ//"*

R. G. Nandargikar's text, IV.39, pp. 105-106.

15. *Raghuvaṃśa,* IV.45-46.

Regarding 'Digvijaya' of Raghu M. R. Kale says :—

Proceeding first to the East, he marches right upto the Eastern ocean where he vanquishes the Suhmas and the Vaṅgas. Crossing the river Kapiśā he goes through Utkala to the Kaliṅga country. He conquers its ruler and then marches to the South. After subduing the Pāṇya Kings there, he crosses the Sahya mountain and Subjugates the Āparānta districts along the Western ocean. Then by land he proceeds northwards where he conquers the Pārasīkas. Thence he traverses as far as the Sindhu river where he defeats the Hūṇas and the Kāmbojas. Thence he proceeds across the Himalaya, where he brings the Utsava-Saṅketas under his sway. Descending to the plains he finally conquers Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa, and returns to his capital laden with glory and wealth. He then performs the *Viśvajit* sacrifice (indicative of Universal conquest) in which he gives away to Brāhmaṇas (by way of Dakṣiṇā) everything that he possessed.

Introduction to *Raghuvaṃśa,* I-V, p. XVII.

Dr. K. B. Tripathi[16] and Dr. Hari Ramachandra Divekara[17] have treated of the topic of Raghu's *Digvijaya* in their own way. According to Dr. Tripathi, the poet describes the conquest of Raghu in about 53 verses (Verse No. 32 to 85) in the fourth Canto of his *Raghuvaṃśa*. The emperor conquers about twenty one Kingdoms both in and outside India. He starts from his capital Ayodhyā on the Sarayū (modern Gogra) and begins his conquest of the eastern countries (Paurastya Janapada) following the course of the Ganges almost upto its Confluence with the sea. He identifies Suhma with a part of North Bengal and North West Bengal and the Vaṅga Country with South West Bengal. The Utkal contiguous to these two was separated by Kapiśā (River) literally meaning 'reddish'. identified with Kasā now flowing near Midnapur town. Dr. Tripathi calls the King of Kaliṅga as the lord of Mahendra (Mahendranātha). What constituted the boundary between Utkal and Kaliṅga cannot be ascertained but the Mahendra mountain range mythologically one of the seven mainchains of mountains (*Kulaparvatas*) of India lay principally in the Kingdom of Kaliṅga. The Kaliṅga country according to Dr. Tripathi extended from the Northern end of Mahendra mountain upto Godāvarī in the south. But at one time or other Utkal seems to have been the northern most part of the Kaliṅga country, for the rock inscriptions of Aśoka (3rd Century B.C.) and Khāravela (Ist Century B.C.) near Bhuvaneśvara speak only of 'Kaliṅga'. In the

16. Raghu's campaign of Conquest, pp. 65-69. *The VIKRAM*. Journal of Vikram University, Ujjain *Kālidāsa Special Number*, 1961.

17. *Kālidāsa aur Samudra Pravāsa*, pp. 39-45, *ibid.*

VIth canto of *Raghuvaṃśa*[18] Kālidāsa (who is silent about Utkala) designates the King of Kaliṅga, also, as the lord of Mahodadhi (Bay of Bengal) with his palace on the sea coast, and enjoying the sea breeze redolent with the Pollens of the *Lavaṅga* flowers from the (Eastern) Archipelago. All this suggests an active maritime trade of the people of Kaliṅga with the Islands of Java, Sumatra, Bali etc. Any way, Raghu defeats the powerful King of Kaliṅga but reinstates him.[19] Dr. Hari Ramacandra Divekara[20] commenting upon *Raghuvaṃśa* IV.59-86 has laid stress on the point in IV.60.

> "*Pārasīkāṃstato jetum*
> *Pratasthe sthalavartmanā*
> *indriyākhyāniva ripūns-*
> *tattvajñānena Saṃyamī*"

that in order to subjugate the Pārasīkas Raghu started off by the naval route (sthalavartmanā). He has taken "*Vaṅkṣutīra—Viceṣṭanaiḥ*" in IV.67 as the reasonable text in place of "*Sindhutīraviceṣṭanaiḥ*" in line with Vallabhadeva the earlier commentator of *Raghuvaṃśa*. To quote Dr.

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18. *Asau Mahendrādrisamānasāraḥ patirmahendrasya mahodadheśca* /
Yasya Kṣaratsainyagajacchalena Yātrāsu Yātīva puro mahendraḥ // VI.54.

G. R. Nandargikar's text along with :
Athāṅgadāśliṣṭabhujam bhujiṣyā
Hemāṅgadaṃ Nāma Kaliṅganātham /
āseduṣīṃ sāditaśatrupakṣaṃ
Bālāmabālendumukhīṃ babhāṣe //

Ibid., VI.53, p. 176.

19. *The VIKRAM*, pp. 65-66.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

Divekara summing up the campaign of conquest of Raghu who has been construed as the true image of Samudragupta Parākramāṅka of the Gupta dynasty by Dr. K. B. Tripathi[21] :

"Raghu's Campaign started from Suhama and ended with Kāmarūpa. It is evident from the campaign of conquest that Raghu underwent his campaign upto Trikūṭa by land route and from Trikūṭa to Pārasīka he undertook his journey by the naval route and from there wadding through Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Oxus. Kāmboja he mounted on to Himachal from the North of Sindhu and he ferried across Brahmaputra after having got down from Himachal on the Īśānya corner through Tibet and returned to Ayodhyā while passing through Assam. From Trikūṭa having Sūrpāraka port contiguous to it. he reached Parsis by Naval route and not by land route"[22] which implies that Raghu alias Samudragupta had an outright control over India ranging between Suhma to Kāmarūpa with the intervening areas of Kaliṅga Āparānta, Pārasīka etc. bringing under sway the Hūṇas, Yavanas and Utsavasaṅketas.

Dr. Bhagvat Sharan Upadhyaya[23] demarcating the boundaries of Utkala and Kaliṅga construes Utkala as an *apabhraṃśa* of Utkaliṅga which means the Northern part of Kaliṅga. Utkala or Odra was in the South of Tāmralipta having Kapiśā stream flowing on its northern borders, variantly called as 'Kasai' flowing through Medinipura. He

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21. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

23. *Kālidāsa Kā Bhārata*, pp. 90-91, Pt. I.

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construes Kaliṅga as having its Northern boundaries in Utkala, Southern one as Godāvarī's delta on the shoals of Vaṅgotkhāta. Dr. Upadhyaya finds it hard to reconcile with the contention that Mahendra Giri (*Raghuvaṃśa* IV.39.VI.54) having the supremacy of Kaliṅgarāja was a mountain of Kaliṅga. He takes Goliya range of Indrāvatī river as the Northern boundary of Kaliṅga.[24]

From a review of the views held by Dr. Divekar, M. R. Kale and Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya it appears that Mahendra formed a part and parcel of the Kingdom of Kaliṅga. According to Dr. S. C. Banerji Mahendra (*Raghuvaṃśa* IV.39.43, VI.54) was the name of entire range of hills extending from Orissa to the District of Madurā. It included the Eastern Ghāṭs.[25]

Now we come to the point proper of identifying "Mahendra" referred to in *Raghuvaṃśa* IV.39, *"Mahendranātha"* in *Raghuvaṃśa* IV.43, *"Hemāṅgadaṃ nāma Kaliṅganāthaṃ"* (*Raghuvaṃśa* VI.53) and *Mahendrādrisamānasāraḥ patirmahendrasya mahodadheśca....Yātrāsu Yātīva Puro Mahendraḥ'* (*Raghuvaṃśa* VI.54). As to whether Kālidāsa has referred to the word "Mahendra" to mean a King or a mountain or both or a King the overlord of the mountain or the mountain range or a janapada and the like, we shall examine on the touch stone of interpretative criticism.

P. L. Miśra's contention of construing King Mahendra of *Allahabad Praśasti* as the Nala King of the same name traceable from the gold coins of Mahendrāditya, reigning in Mahākośala or Dakṣiṇa Kośala (Deccan) represented by Raipur, Sambalpur, Bilaspur etc. is based

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

25. *Kālidāsa Kośa.*

only on one fundamental grounding that Raghu in *Raghuvaṃśa* is representative of Samudragupta Parākramāṅka of the Gupta dynasty. The contention is not outrightly rejectable. Taking it to be the reasonable one we should construe Aja as the representative of Candragupta II Vikramāditya and Daśaratha as that of Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya and Rāma as that of Skandagupta and the like. Kālidāsa has referred to the fact of Kapiśā having been crossed by Raghu after the extirpation and restoration (*Utkhātapratiropitāḥ*)[26] of the territories of Vaṅga having victory columns dug deep within the intervals of the Shoals of the river Gaṅgā[27] wherefrom the prince of Utkala (i. e. Utkaliṅga) directed him the route of Kaliṅga (The Southern region)[28] occupied by a different king who had a mighty force of tuskers (*Gajasādhanaḥ*). Raghu himself had a mighty force of tuskers that could easily be converted into the form of a causeway.[29] He was a *Dharma-Vijayī-nṛpa* (a righteous king) subjugating the Lord of Mahendra thereby depriving him of his glory without having annexed his territory to his own regime. But in an earlier strain he sings forth eulogium of the prowess of Raghu that he planted on the forehead of Mahendra like the sharp goad of an elephant who feels not the pain of the prickle he receives from it.[30]

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26. *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV.38, p. 105, R. G. Nandargikar.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 104, IV.36.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 106, IV.40.

29. *Ibid.*, IV.38, p. 105.

30. *Ibid.*, IV.39, p. 105.

In VI.53 the poet refers to the lord of Kaliṅga as Hemāṅgada[31] while in VI.54 he indulges in a prevarication when he says :

This king whose strength is equal to that of the mountain Mahendra, is the lord of Mahendra and the great ocean ; in his marches the mountain Mahendra itself walks as it were in front, in the semblance of the army of sweat streaming elephants. Agreeing with Dr. K. B. Tripathi if we construe Raghu as Samudragupta, the Gupta Emperor having subjugated the Suhmas (lying between Vaṅga and Kaliṅga) extirpated the Vaṅgas ready with their naval forces, who were, however, restored to their territories. Having crossed the Kasal river in Midnapur district of Bengal with the help of a Causeway of tuskers the route ahead having been guided by the price of Utkaliṅga, i. e. the Northern part of Kaliṅga, he proceeded towards the Dakṣiṇa Kaliṅga. Following on he planted perforce his prowess on the pate of Mahendra (The King as well as the Mountain) as if he or it were a tusker not minding the pain of the prickle of the goad.

The Righteous conqueror captured the lord of Mahendra and released him by wresting his glory and restoring to him his territory. He waded through Kāverī,[32] the valleys of Malaya mountain[33] bedimmed the gaze of Pāṇḍya Princes[34] who offered him presents of pearls collected from that part of *Mahodadhi* (The Bay of Bengal) where the

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31. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

32. *Ibid.*, IV.45, p. 107.

33. *Ibid.*, IV.46, p. 108.

34. *Ibid.*, IV.49, p. 109.

river Tāmraparṇī (in Tinnevelly) falls into it. Marching alone Samudragupta having enjoyed to his heart's content the two mountains Malaya and Dardura (The Nīlgiri hills in the Madras Presidency) both of which were covered with Sandal Forests, on their summits, as if they were the two breasts of that quarter, with their surface besmeared with yellow sandal, he of irresistible valour crossed the mountain Sahya, left after by the ocean (far away from it) as if it were the lump of the earth, the woven garments on which are slipped out.[35] He thereafter laid hands over the Kings of the Western Ghāṭs (āparānta)[36] Keralas and Muralas.[37] All this eloborate description of the Digvijaya of Raghu alias Samudragupta definitely creates a doubt in the mind of the Researcher to construe "Mahendra" in IV.39 and "Mahendranātha" in IV.43 as two distinct illustrations of some covert historical facts. In IV.39 Mahendra can be construed to mean both ways a king as well as a mountain on the analogy of the word "Bhūbhṛt" which also carries these two meanings very frequently in poetry as well as prose illustrations.

In case Kaliṅga is to be assigned as the region for the domain of Mahendra (King as well as mountain) and Mahendranātha, we shall do well to examine the words of Dr. D. C. Sircar[38] :

"After the downfall of the Chedi or Chaidya dynasty of Kaliṅgas to which the great Khāravela belonged the Ka-

35. *Ibid.*, IV.51-52, p. 110.

36. *Ibid.*, IV.53, p. 110 (Sahyalagna ivārṇavaḥ).

37. *Ibid.*, IV.54-55, p. 111.

38. *The Gupta Vākāṭaka Age,* pp. 76-77 also pp. 133-134.

liṅga country (roughly speaking the Coastal land between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī) was split up into a number of petty principalities. This state of things is indicated by the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta which refers to the Gupta emperor's victory over some South Indian Kings in the fourth century A.D. The Dakṣiṇāpatha contemporaries of Samudragupta, who are usually assigned to the Kaliṅga region, are Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra, Mahendra Giri of Piṣṭapura, Damana of Eraṇḍa-palla and Kubera of Devarāṣṭra. Koṭṭūra is identified with Kothoor near the Mahendragiri in the Gañjam district and Eraṇḍapalla is believed by some scholars to have been situated near Chīcacole in the same district. Little, however, is known about these states. But there is evidence of the continued existence of the Kingdom of Piṣṭapura and Devarāṣṭra which are to be identified respectively with the modern state of Piṭhapuram in the Godāvarī district and the vellamanchile taluk of the Vizaga-Patam district. But Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya's[39] contention appears to be more in line with the description of Kālidāsa (*Raghuvaṃśa* IV.36-43) and Hariṣeṇa (*Allahabad Praśasti*, lines 19-20).

The expression "*Paiṣṭapuraka Mahendragiri Kauṭṭūraka Svāmidatta*" has been interpreted by G. Ramdas to mean—

"Svāmidatta who had his seat at Piṣṭapura and at Koṭṭura near Mahendragiri (Northern part of the Eastern Ghāṭ ranges). This informs us that Svāmidatta was the King of the two territories :—

(1) The one of which Piṣṭapura (Pithāpur) was the capital and (2) the other of which Koṭṭura near Mahendra

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39. *Early History of Northern India*, p. 186.

was the capital, i. e. Kaliṅga. Hence Utkaliṅga (Utkala) Kaliṅga, i. e. Northern and Southern Kaliṅga (*Raghuvaṃśa* IV.38) conjointly referred to as "Kālingāḥ" (IV.40) with Mahendra referred to as King as well as mountain (IV.39) and Mahendranātha (IV.43) may allude to Svāmidatta the joint ruler of the two territories of Piṭhāpuraṃ and Kothura or. Mahendra referred to by Kālidāsa in *Raghuvamśa* IV.39 may be the "Kauśulaka Mahendra of Harisena (*Allahabad Praśasti*) identified as the Nala King Mahendrāditya of Coins by P. L. Mishra in so far as there seems to be a distinctness of significance in two illustrations of Kālidāsa when he says that :

Raghu planted his aweful prowess on the head of Mahendra groaning plaintively under the weight of the defeat as does a tusker smarting under the excruciating pain caused by the goad pricked into its head (IV.39) and "That Righteous conqueror wrested the glory and not the territory of the lord of Mahendra who had been first captured and afterwards released" (IV.43). Hence *"gṛhīta-pratimukta Mahendranātha'* could be identified as Svāmidatta, the joint ruler of Piṭhāpura and Koṭhūra representing the joint areas of Northern and Southern Kaliṅga while Mahendra referred to in the IV.39 could be the Nala King Mahendrāditya of Mahākośala (Dakṣiṇa-Kośala) identified as Chattisgarh and the adjoining territory in the province of Orissa upto the boundary of the Kaṭak District by Dr. V. V. Mirashi though Hariṣeṇa has conjointly referred to those Kings of South India (Dakṣiṇāpatha) as enhancing the eclat of Samudragupta assuming great prestige consolidated by the act of obligation of first capturing and then releasing (*Grahaṇamokṣānugrahajanitapratāponmiśramāhābhāgyasya, Allahabad Praśasti,* line 20). In VI.53, Kālidāsa has referred to 'Kaliṅganātha' as 'Hemāṅgada'

whose strength has been sustained as equal to that of the mountain Mahendra and who has been called the Lord of Mahendra and the great ocean in his marches the mountain Mahendra itself walking along (VI.54).

In case Aja is to be construed as Candragupta II described as 'Kośalendra' (*Raghuvaṃśa* VII.34) (Kālidāsa has illustrated him as proving a cause of unbearability for the lord of Kuṇḍinapura in Vidarbha which was the ruling region of the Vākāṭakas with whom Candragupta II had marital relations) we can easily presume Hamāṅgada as a direct descendant of Mahākośala Samrāṭ Mahendrāditya or that of Svāmidatta, the Mahendranātha referred to by Kālidāsa as Kāliṅganātha also though covertly.

ANCIENT INDIAN FOLK PEOPLE IN INDIAN ART AND LITERATURE
(MAURYA TO KUSHANA PERIOD) *

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The samples of folk art may be traced in India since Harappan period. The author in this paper has thrown light on the life of common people including *Śūdras,* tradesmen, craftsmen, potters, and domestic and royal attendants etc. in ancient India as depicted in its art and literature.

In early post-Mauryan sculpture the human figure which is conspicuous by its absence in the hither-to known examples of Maurya art, plays an important role, but it is accepted and treated merely as one of the many components of nature, not as the pivot as in the final phase of post-Maurya art of Amaravati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and Goli. Here he is completely at one with trees, creepers, animals and hundred and one other objects of nature.

Indeed men and women of Bharhut have almost a tribal simplicity, the most direct and the language most

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unaffected. Since they are fully coordinated with and are apprehended as part of nature itself they have no special emphasis or accent and are in no way different from animals and plants. They do not express any emotion nor are they idealized in any way.

The folk artists have been active in India right from Harappan times and there is a boost in the terracotta industry with the growth of tendency of urbanization. First urbanization period corresponds to Harappan phase, second post-Harappan and the third in the Maurya times.

The Brahmanical *Sūtras* and the Buddhist *Jātakas* reflect to a very great extent the art and culture of northern India during the centuries of Haryanka, Śaiśunaga and Nanda domination. Storeyed buildings, presumably of wood and brick, were already widely known and mention is made of round and square huts built perhaps of wood and bamboo. An advanced knowledge of the use of metals like tin, lead, silver, copper and iron shap. . and formed into objects meant for various domestic and other purposes is already known from later Vedic texts, and the *Jātakas* reveal that there were eighteen different kinds of *Silpas* or art and crafts including carpentry, smithry, leather dressing and painting. Metal workers in general were probably known by the word *Kammāra* (Skt. *Karmakāra*) and there are definite evidences to show that these artists and craftsmen were organized into guilds. Localization of certain crafts also took place to the extent that an entire village or a particular locality in a town came to be designated according to the craft pursued there. The *Jātakas* also afford a more or less vivid picture of contemporary city and village life, villages with scattered huts made of wood, bamboo and reed, cities with roads and lanes lined

with buildings of brick and wood, all set off against the background of an agricultural, industrial and commercial life in small scale and within narrow proportions. With the exception of certain stories in the *Mahābhārata,* there is nothing else to suggest that the canvas of contemporary life was large and that it was conceived in any magnificent and monumental scale. Tribal and rural was indeed the character of the social pattern and out-look is also in evidence in the remains of the city of Rājagṛha with its walls and remains of dwellings built of rough syclopean masonry which is the one architectural example which can perhaps be said to belong to pre-Maurya times.[1]

The artists and craftsmen responsible for visual representation of the religion and thus bringing it to the door of the people in general, were also organized into art and craft guilds or *Śreṇīs*. The painter, the thapati or the architect, the *takshaka* or the sculptor or carver, the *vaddhaki,* all had presumably their own guilds which speak of a developed sense of civic organization. It is difficult if all these arts and crafts were considered equally honourable ; but from the fact that acting, dancing and music were listed among the despised callings, it is not unreasonable to think that some of the above crafts were considered low in social estimation because of rural aboriginal folks whose hereditary professions generally these were.[2]

The folk people depicted right from the post-Maurya period were rural and primitive. They were agricultural class of people, i. e. herdsmen and jungle-dwellers. During

1. Niharranjan Ray, *Maurya And Post-Maurya Art,* A study in Social and Formal Contrasts, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 7-8.

2. *Ibid.,* p. 73.

the Kushana period with the flourishing Indo-Roman trade we find sophistication and eroticism in the life of people. The folk people during the post-Maurya periods can be classified as undermentioned—rural, agricultural class including both peasants and herdsmen, hunters, ivory workers, domestic servants and royal attendants. The classification as well as the identification of the folk people is mainly based on the surrounding, mode of living and professions.

One of the scenes of folk people being rural is found at Sanchi from *Viśvantara Jātaka*. This is a village scene in which five people—three men and two women with folded hands are depicted receiving the king, queen and their child.[3] In another scene a man with a bamboo pole on his shoulder and ropes in his hand is depicted, and right at the top another man shows us how a double burden can be balanced by hanging a basket or jar by ropes on to the two ends of bamboo. The villager is identified by the surrounding of the village and more interestingly as well as significantly by the mode of carrying his things. As Marshall says such was the village life two thousands years ago, such it is today.[4] There are two other such depictions one at Ranigumpha and the other at Ganeśagumpha. The first bas relief contains eight figures, four males and four females in four groups. The first represents a man apparently asleep on the doorway of a hut and a woman leading a man by the hand apparently to introduce him to the first

3. J. Marshall, A. Fouscher, *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. II, Plate 25.

4. *Ibid.*, Plate 52.

pair.[5] In the next, the scene is the same repeated here but the sculpture is very superior to that in the other, and the attitudes of the figures more easy and graceful, more nearly, infact, to those at Amaravati, than even to the sculptures at Sanchi.[6]

Other class of folk people of post-Maurya period were the hunters. Here at Sanchi there is scene of *Vessāntara Jātaka* in which there is the surrounding of jungle. Two persons are going for hunting with bow and arrow and two coming from hunting with hunted antelopes hanging on the staff at their shoulders.[7] Another hunter is shown in *Vessāntara Jātaka* scene with taut bow. He has stretched his bow.[8] In another scene a pair with curious head-dress is found. They are dwellers of the jungle. The woman is holding a bow in her left hand and the man a sheaf of arrows in his right whilst apparently holding his wife with his left hand from the dangerous gambols of the two elephants.[9] According to Jaina *Sūtras* hunting had a great value and was quite common in those days. It is referred to in the *Bhagavati*. There were regular hunters (*miga luddhaya*) whose occupation was to capture or kill the animals and earn their living by selling them.[10]

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5. James Fergusson, James Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, Delhi, First Pub. 1880, p. 82.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

7. J. Marshall, A. Fouscher, *Ibid.*, Plate 25.

8. *Ibid.*, Plate 29.

9. *Ibid.*, Plate 43.

10. Bhagavati, in J. C. Jain, *Life In Ancient India As Depicted in Jaina Canons*, Bombay 1947, p. 96.

The next class of people whom we here deal with, were the herdsmen. In a scene at Bharhut two figures are depicted, in between two houses, engaged in conversing. One of them holds an animal like hare in his left hand. Besides this, another animal is depicted seated on the top of a cottage in the front, in the scene.[11] Another bas relief at Sanchi presents a very lively tableau of the village of Uruvilva where herds of cattle, buffaloes and goats are seen among the houses showing that domestication of animals was in practice in villages.[12] Jaina *Sūtra* says that breeding and rearing of cattle was an essential concern of the people. Domestication of animals like flocks of sheep (*Kaṭṭhahāraga*) and goats is also mentioned. This economic undertaking is associated with land. It is also cow rearing which is referred to in Veda. *Mahābhāṣya* provides details regarding different kinds of cows and also the method of controlling them. Sheep rearing is also mentioned.[13]

Peasants are also found at Sanchi. There were agricultural villages too.[14] The Śālabhañjikā figurines of post-Mauryan period show abundance in fertility and fecundation but during the Kushana period the *Aśokadohada*

11. S. C. Kala, "Bharhut Sculptures In the Allahabad Museum", *J. U. P. H. S., Panna Lall Special Number,* Vol. XVIII, July–December 1945, p. 99.

12. J. Marshall, A. Fouscher, *Ibid.,* Pillar 52.

13. B. N. Puri, *India In The Time of Patañjali,* Bombay, 1957, pp. 125-126.

14. Devangana Desai, "Terracottas and Urban Culture of Ancient India" (Circa 600 B.C.–A.D. 600). Paper presented to 'Art And Society' Symposium of the Indian History Congress, 37th Session, Calicut, December 1976.

motif which is also a fertility figure shows sensuousness in figurines as the money economy penetrates into the life of the common people as the result of the Indo-Roman trade.

There were ivory workers also in society, the depiction of whom is found at Bharhut. In Jaina *sūtra* there is a reference to ivory work *(dantavāṇijja)* which was in the shape of industry. Ivory workers are mentioned among important artisans.[15]

The next group of folk people were the domestic servants. There are servants depicted at Bharhut.[16] There is another scene at Bharhut in which a female maid is depicted cutting some standing corn, while the other to the right of her mistress is seated on the ground besides a large vessel which is raised upon a common eastern chūlā. or fire place. The purport of the scene seems to be that the one woman is cutting corn for the other woman to cook. In the next scene to the right, the woman is seated on the ground beside a man both engaged in eating some broad flat cakes *(capātīs)* which are being presented to them by a female servant who is most probably the corn cutter of the first scene. In another scene two merchants Trapusa and Bhallika in the scene of Uruvilva are depicted carrying water. Domestic servants are also found at Sanchi.

The next class of folk people were the royal attendants. At Bharhut we find two examples. The first depicts a royal attendant in the scene of the worship of *Aśvattha,* the Bodhi tree of Buddha Śākyamuni, with the Bodhi-

15. J. C. Jain, *Ibid.*, p. 100.

16. B. M. Barua, *Bharhut*, Book II, Calcutta, 1934, p. 56.

maṇḍa at its foot. Here an attendant is shown at the left side of the Bodhimaṇḍa while king Dhanabhūti on the right.[17] In another scene the figure of a female standard bearer is depicted.[18]

Now comes the mature post-Maurya age. Here it is inconceivable that international trade contacts and the presence in all major centres of trade and commerce of considerable groups of foreigners coming from different cultures and patterns of life and society, did not have any impact on contemporary Indian life and society. It is not argued that this trade and commerce was of such value, volume and variety as to transform the rural agricultural economy of the land. But at the same time it is difficult to deny that it did not impart to the urban and semi-urban trading and pilgrim centres a more quickened life, certain bourgeois tastes and fashions, a certain conscious predilection towards the pleasures of the senses and certain moves and modes of life which were very different from those of simple and straight forward rural agricultural environs of perfect tune and harmony with nature. That it was so, is amply proved by the picture of *nāgarakas* and of general urban bourgeois life as drawn by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtram* of about the fourth century A.D. But the beginning of such a life in the bigger centres of trade and commerce and of power, prestige and popularity for some reason or other, has to be traced, from about the middle of the first century A.D. Since then international trade and other contacts with the outside world seems to have spurred up inland trade and communication all along the

17. B. M. Barua, Book I, pp. 7-8.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

arterial routes of the country, giving rise to a number of market towns and pilgrim centres. There is no doubt that the Buddhist Saṃgha took fullest advantage of this situation, the trading and artisan communities being their biggest patrons.

With the emergence of a bourgeois society, in the urban and semi-urban centres at any rate, a change in social taste and in general attitude towards life in general was but inevitable. This change is first noticeable at Mathura and this even in the selection of themes and motifs, which range from toilet and love scenes to scenes of toying with birds and drinking bouts, apart from the manner of delineation of the feminine form. That these are bourgeois pursuits, none would perhaps deny. Nor should one fail to see that the Mathura ladies on the Bhūteśvara pillars are far removed in form and spirit from the *Vṛkṣakās* of Bodhgaya and Sanci. But Mathura was hinter land and moreover too strong and eclectic a centre of past traditions and of influences from a variety of directions. Amaravati and other cognate sites in the Krishna valley on the other hand lay within easy reach coastal ports, a few of which at least sheltered Roman trading settlements. The reliefs of the Krishna valley, particularly of Amaravati, thus naturally reflects the disposition and attitude of urban trading communities which usually manifests preference for a quickened tempo of life, pleasures of the senses, exuberant expressions of joy and passion, and for bourgeois elegance and sophistication.[19]

Among the classified people of folk group of mature post-Mauryan art were the male and female attendants.

19. Niharranjan Ray, *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

syce or groom, cart drivers and the dancing girls. We find male and female attendants prior to and in Kushana period. At Mathura we find a woman *Prāsādhikā* a female attendant in a toilet scene and also a female *Prācārikā*[20] being depicted. Another male attendant is found supporting an intoxicating male. There are other two female attendants supporting an intoxicating female and the other attending to a royal lady.

Among the next class of folk people of Kushana period were Syce or groom[21] and cart drivers.[22] These are mostly found at Mathura. In a scene at Mathura a group of worshippers have come to worship some auspicious objects—a wagon and cart being drawn by horses and oxen are depicted being preceded by a groom. In another, a procession is going to visit some religious place—a cart is filled with male and female members and the driver of the cart is seated on the wagon who lifts his goad, and is seated at the pole.

The dancing girls were also included among the folk people though they were the despised class. There were dancing girls at Mathura. There are two scenes of dancing here. In one of these a female figure[23] is depicted clad in *dhotī* and heavily ornamented, grasping the two ends

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20. V. S. Agarwala, *Masterpieces Of Mathura Sculpture*, Banaras, 1965, pp. 23-24, Plate 26-27.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 17.

22. V. S. Agarwala, *Jaina Stupa And Other Antiquities of Mathura*, p. 11.

23. Prithvi K. Agarwala, "Mathura Railing Pillars". *Indian Civilization Series*, VI, p. 12, Plate I.

of an elaborately embroidered scarf passing around her back and falling loosely in front of her thighs. She seems to demonstrate some graceful attitude of dancing. In another scene the dancer is depicted with *Śuka*.[24] Here left foot stands firm to the back and the right leg is put forward balancing the movements of her body. In the mode of dance her left hand is thrown above the head while with the other she grasps the sash flowing down from the waist. There are a few dancing scenes from Kauśāmbī too. In one of these a dancing girl is depicted with her right leg a little raised. Both of her hands are fixed on the hips. In the other a lady is portrayed in a rhythmic dancing pose. The dance is being accompanied with instruments like lute and *khartal* by two male members. In the third, two females are shown dancing, being accompanied with musical instruments.

Besides art we get the references of folk people in ancient Indian literatures also. These literatures are mainly Jaina *Sūtras*, *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, *Indika* of Megasthenes, *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and Lüder's List. The marxist scholar Plekhanov call these folk people, proletariat. Many of the classes of folk people have already been discussed above. But still there are many whose references we find in ancient Indian literatures. Among the folk people mentioned in literature were wood gatherers, leaf gatherers (*pattahāraga*) and grass cutters (*taṇa hāraga*) who are found frequently roaming about in the forest.[25]

The folk people also included Śūdras during 200 B.C. to 700 A.D. This caste included servants of all sorts,

24. *Ibid.*, Plate 17.

25. J. C. Jain, *Ibid.*, p. 95; *Vivāgasūrya*, p. 95.

wage earners, workmen, labourers and minor functionaries. To these were added small clerks, tradesmen and craftsmen, some of the latter, however, were able to exercise relatively lucrative trades and crafts and even practised husbandry. Though they were too conscious of their despicable situation, but it must not be assumed that they therefore, led an unbearable existence. Many of them worked for wealthy tradesmen and landlords, were paid a regular wage, fed, lodged (sometimes on the employer's premises, sometimes outside) and received further benefits in kind; agriculture workers for example, were paid a fifth of their wages in goods and produce if they were fed and lodged or a third if not. They remained attached to the same family from father to son.[26]

The next category of common people were the artisan class. Patañjali refers to five types of artisans in a village, popularly known as *Pañca Kārukī* who according to Uddyota were *Kulala*, potter (*Kumbhakāra or Mahākumbhakāra*), *Karmāra*—an artificer or blacksmith, *Vardhakin*—carpenter, *Nāpita*—barber, and *rājaka* known as washerman.

Patañjali further mentions workers in metal—*suvarṇakāra*—goldsmith, *lohakāra* or *ayaskāra*—blacksmith. There is no reference to silversmith or *rajatakāra* and coppersmith in *Mahābhāṣya*.[27]

He also mentions merchandise. Perfume seller (*sugandhāpāṇika*), (reference of traders deriving the

26. Jeanine Auboyer, *Daily Life In Ancient India from 200 B. C. to A. D. 700*, France, 1961, p. 29.

27. B. N. Puri, pp. 116-117, 118.

professional designations from the places visited by them) are also mentioned. He has also described the market place of village and towns.

During the early historical period there were class of *kumbhakāras* who settled in families of about 500 in separate localities in the *nigamas* (market townships) or *dvāragamas*, outside the gate of the *mūlanagara* or main town. They thus lived in the suburban localities or industrial villages which could be distinguished from agricultural villages. In post-Maurya period the number of traders, merchants, artisans and craftsmen had increased.[28]

Megasthenes has given a picture of the Indian society, though his incomplete acquaintance with Indian society can hardly be ignored. According to him herdsmen and hunters were the people of third caste among the seven castes of Indians. He also mentions that these alone were allowed to hunt, and to keep cattle and to sell draught animals or let them out on hire. They carry on agricultural services by clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls which devour the seeds sown in the fields, they receive an allowance of grain from the kings. They lead a wandering life and live under tents. Among the fourth class, after the heardsmen and hunters, were those who work at trades of these who vend wares, and of those who are employed in bodily labour. Some of these pay tribute and render to the state certain prescribed services. But the armour makers and ship builders receive wages and (their victuals) from the king for whom alone they work. According to this foreign historian, no one was allowed to exchange one profession or trade for another or to follow more than one

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28. Devangaṇa Desai, *Ibid.*

business. Shepherds were the third caste consisting of all the herdsmen in general who neither settle in towns nor in villages, but live in tents. Artizans belonged to the fourth caste. Of these some are armours, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes, but even received maintenance from the royal exchequer.[29]

Kauṭilya refers to a class of Śūdras in the *vārttā* (derived from *vṛtti*=livelihood) of Vaiśya. The Śūdra may be supposed to be subordinate to him as an agricultural labourer, a herdsman or a trader's servant. Arts and crafts, which must have been a source of livelihood are not included in *vārttā,* and appear to be exclusively practised by the Śūdra alone.[30]

During the period from 325 B.C. to A.D. 200 we find a category of casteless professions in Lüder's List. These are bankers, ironmongers. Patañjali in *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini places the *Takṣa* (carpenter) and *Ayaskāra* (iron-smith) on the same level and regards both of them as Śūdras. Besides, there were jewellers, caravan leaders, perfumer, dyer, workers in metal and actors.[31]

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29. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India As Described by Megasthenes and Arrian,* pp. 84, 84-85, 85-86, 39-40.

30. R. P. Kangle, *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra,* Part III, A Study, pp. 142, 166 ; *Arthaśāstra,* 2.1.2 ; *Ibid.,* p. 187 ; *Arthaśāstra,* 3.131-4 ; *Ibid.,* p. 187.

31. Sandhya Mukerjee, *Some Aspects of Social Life In Ancient India* (320 B.C. to A.D. 200), Allahabad. First Published, 1976, pp. 49-50.

Now, if we deal with the social status of folk people, we find that in the post-Maurya period no distinct discrimination was maintained between the upper class and the rural class as both are found visiting the religious places. But in the beginning of Christian era as the result of Indo-Roman trade, the bourgeois attitude affected the rural or semi-urban class also. And their agricultural depiction is no more so simple, rather through fertility symbols we can gather that sensuousness and eroticism affected their life as the *Yakṣīs* of Mathura petting with parrots show that Amaravati *Yakṣīs* also reflect the same sensuousness. The only difference is that the one depicted at Mathura is spontaneous and at Amaravati dignified.

But gradually during the mature post-Mauryan art the folk people started coming to the social scale because of their professions in the normal life.

A STUDY OF THE SVASTIKA ON ANCIENT INDIAN POTSHERDS

N. P. Nawani

Kurukshetra

Svastika, one of the important religious motifs of ancient Indian culture depicted on the coins, seals, sealings and potsherds, stands generally for one's well-being or good luck. It is a mystical diagram with four arms either in clockwise or anti-closkwise direction. The findings of proto-historic and historic potsherds bearing *Svastika,* made by ancient potter artists and used by common folk, have been unearthed from different parts of India and are indicative of its wide popularity not only in India but also in other ancient civilizations of the world.

Being intimately connected with religious beliefs and practices of human beings the symbols have important bearing on the cultural developments of the bygone societies. The ancient Indian important religious symbols include *śaṅkha, nandipada, svastika, śrīvatsa, mīna* and *pūrṇaghaṭa,* etc. Of these *svastika* is one of the oldest symbol which has been widely eulogised in the Indian literature[1]

1. S. D. Gyani, *Agni Purāṇa,* p. 112, Varanasi, 1964; A. B. L. Awasthi, *Garuḍa Purāṇa eka Adhyayana;* p. 402, Lucknow,

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and epigraphy,[2] and has also been depicted on the coins,[3] seals and sealings[4] as well as on the potsherds.[5] This symbol consists of four arms, bent in right angles sometimes, turn to leftward and sometime to rightward. In general this symbol stands for one's well-being or good luck.[6]

The *Svastika* is a mystical cross. This is a cyclic diagram with radiating arms either in clockwise or anticlockwise direction, indicating two forms of ritualism *dakṣiṇāvarta* and *vāmāvarta*. According to V. S. Agrawala,[7] the *svastika* is a unique symbol probably symbolizing the cosmos spreading in the four directions and four-fold divine

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1968; Bina Pani Pandey, *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa Kā Sāṃskṛtika Vivecana*, p. 173, 1960; D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 78, Poona, 1966.

आयताश्चतुरस्राश्च वृत्ताश्च स्वस्तिकास्तथा ।
प्रासादा नौष कौरव्य विहिता विश्वकर्मणा ॥

Harivaṃśa Purāṇa, 2.88, 57-58. In the early literature of India, particularly the Purāṇas. refer to *svastika-like* buildings.

2. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 5 & 94. The word *'svasti'* is mentioned in the beginning of many early inscriptions. At the beginning of the Hāthīgumphā inscription, dated Ist century A.D., the *svastika* appears alongwith *śrīvatsa*.

3. K. D. Bajpai, 'Some early coins from central India and Andhra Pradesh', *JNSI*, Vol. XLI, pt. II, pp. 38-39, 1979.

4. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

5. B. B. Lal, Excavations at Hastinapur and other explorations, *A. I*, No. 10 & 11, p. 34, pl. XXIX, 4.

6. M. William, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Delhi, 1972, p. 1283.

7. V. S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, Varanasi, 1977, p. 336.

principle. According to Wilson,[8] the *svastika* is related with the mothergoddess cult. Some scholars like Thomas,[9] Srivastava[10] and others believe that the *svastika* is a solar symbol.

The representation of Sun in the form of *svastika* has been depicted in rock-paintings discovered from Baria Bari cave in Punchmarhi (M.P.). This painting suggests that there is some connection between *svastika* and the Sun. The two forms of *svastika* symbol (clockwise and anti-clockwise) may be explained in terms of movements of Sun—*Dakṣiṇāyana* and *Uttarāyana*.

The pots which are the creation of the humble potter-artist and used by common folk, sometimes, provide very interesting information. As such in the present paper the study of *svastika* on the potsherds has been made in relation to coins and seals. etc. from the earliest times to 3rd century A.D.

The potsherds containing the *svastika* symbol can be divided into two groups related to: (i) Proto-historic, and (ii) historical period.

The proto-historic potsherds bearing *svastika* have been unearthed from Rangpur[11] (a well known Harappan

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8. Wilson Thomas, *The Svastika,* Delhi 1973, p. PXII.

9. P. Thomas, *Epic Myths and legends of India,* Bombay 1961, p. 115.

10. V. C. Srivastava, *Sun Worship in Ancient India,* Allahabad. 1961, p. 31.

11. S. R. Rao, "Excavations at Rangpur and other Explorations" *AI,* No. 18-19, p. 130, Pl. XXVII, A 44.

site), Navdatoli[12] and Inamgaon[13] (the Central Indian chalcolithic site). and Hastinapur (period II, the Painted Grey Ware phase).[14] whereas the sherds belonging to the historical period have been recovered from Hastinapur,[15] Takshasila,[16] Ropar,[17] Rairh,[18] Ahicchatra.[19] Kailvan,[20] Arikamedu[21] and Perur.[22]

These potsherds on which *svastika* occurs, belong to different types of pots namely the Jar, the bowl, the dish, etc. It is commonly found on the sherds of vases, which

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12. H. D. Sankalia, *Prehistory and Protohistory in India and Pakistan,* Pl. XXII, fig. 83.

13. H. D. Sankalia, *Pre-historic Art in India,* New Delhi, 1978, p. 78.

14. B. B. Lal, *op. cit.,* p. 34, pl. XXIX, 4, fig. 10, 64.

15. *Ibid.,* p. 70, pl. XXXI, 5.

16. A. Ghosh, 'Taxila (Sirkap)', *AI,* No. 4, p. 77, fig. 17.

17. Y. D. Sharma, 'Explorations of Historical sites', *AI,* No. 9, p. 126, fig. 7, 4.

18. K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh,* p. 20, pl. XI, 2.

19. A. Ghosh & K. C. Panigrahi, 'The pottery of Ahicchatra', *AI,* No. 1, p. 46, fig. 8, 9.

20. D. C. Sircar, Brāhmī Inscription from Kailvan, *EI,* Vol. XXXI, p. 229, pl. p. facing 231.

21. R. E. M. Wheeler and others, 'Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading Station on East', *AI,* No. 2, p. 49, fig. 12, Ig. pl. XXX A, 2 & 3.

22. *IAR*—1970-71, p. 34, pl. LB.

are rimless and seem to have represented the sherd of different diamensions. The symbol is either impressed or incised, or it is found painted below the neck and shoulders of the pot. The symbol *svastika* which has been found on the potsherds are of two types :

(i) *Dakṣiṇāvarta* (clockwise).
(ii) *Vāmāvarta* (anti-clockwise).

From the excavations at Rangpur (District Surendranagar, Gujrat) two fragments of vases in red Ware have graffitimark resembling the *svastika of vāmāvarta*[23] type. The stratified evidence assigns these sherds to period II.B representing degenerate Harappan culture.[24]

From the excavations at Navdatoli (District Khargaon, M. P.) the fragment of a vase in white slipped Malva Ware has been found decorated with a *svastika*-like symbol.[25] The stratified evidence assigns this sherd to period III.[26]

From the excavations at Hastinapur (District Meerut, U. P.) three fragments of vases have been recovered. Among these a sherd of Grey Ware, contains painted figure of *dakṣiṇāvarta svastika* with curved arms.[27] While other two sherds are in red slip ware belonging to the historical period. One of them is stamped with the *vāmāvarta svastika* in between two *śaṅkhas*[28] another auspicious symbol.

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23. S. R. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 130, pl. XXVII A.44.

24. *Ibid.*

25. H. D. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV, B.

26. *Ibid.*

27. B. B. Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 34, pl. XXIX 4, fig. 10, 64.

28. *Ibid.*

The other sherd contains *dakṣiṇāvarta* form,[29] which is similar to the representation found on the Grey Ware sherd already described. B. B. Lal has assigned the Painted Grey[30] Ware to period II, i. e., 1100 B.C. to 800 B.C. while other two fragments to period IV, belonging to 2nd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D.[31]

A fragment of a vase in light red ware found from Taxila (now in Pakistan) excavation, is stamped with a *vāmāvarta svastika*[32] in between two horizontal lines. The stratigraphic evidence assigns this sherd to c.50 A.D. to early 2nd century A.D.[33]

From Rupar (District Ropar, Punjab) has been recovered the fragment of a vase in red ware containing the *dakṣiṇāvarta svastika*[34] flanked by the *nāga* figures. Y. D. Sharma assigns this sherd to the early century of the Christian era.[35]

From the excavations at Rairh (Near Jaipur, Rajasthan) the fragment of a vase has a painted *svastika of vāmāvarta*[36] type with curved arms alongwith a *nandipada* symbol on its left side. It is quite possible that *svastika* here may have been shown flanked by *nandipada* on either side

29. *Ibid.*, p. 70, pl. XXXI, 5.

30. *Ibid.*, Fig. 21, XXXVII.

31. *Ibid.*

32. A. Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 71, fig. 17, XLI.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Y. D. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 126, fig. 7, 4.

35. *Ibid.*

36. K. N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 20, pl. XI, 2.

of which one has broken off. On the basis of stratigraphy this sherd has been assigned to the first-second century A.D.

The excavations at Ahicchatra (District Bareilly, U. P.) have yielded three potsherds the one representing two-fold *svastika in vāmāvarta*[37] form within a rectangular bracket while other two sherds bear the *dakṣiṇāvarta*[38] and *vāmāvarta*[39] form. On the stratigraphical evidence[40] of this place these sherds may be placed between 3rd century A.D. to 6th century A.D.

From Kailvan (District Patna, Bihar) a long necked inscribed pot depicts *dakṣiṇāvarta*[41] and *vāmāvarta*[42] forms of *svastika* along with three other auspicious symbols—the *Yūpa*, the *ḍamaru-shape* and *Pūrṇaghaṭa*. The inscription mentions its date as 108 of Kanishka era. D. C. Sirkar however, assigns this sherd to 186 A.D., on palaeographical grounds.[43]

From the excavations at Arikamedu (S. E. of Pondicherry) come four fragments, three of which are of Arretine ware containing the *svastika* of *vāmāvarta*[44] type. Among these one sherd has double form of this symbol.[45] The

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37. A. Ghosh & K. C. Panigrahi. *op. cit.*, p. 46.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 229, pl. facing, p. 231.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid.*

44. Sir R. E. M. Wheeler & others, *op. cit.*, p. 52, pl. XXX, A.

45. *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI, A.

fourth sherd, which is of rouletted ware[46] also shows *vāmāvarta* form of *svastika*. These sherds have been assigned to first half of the first and mid-first second century A.D.[47]

K. V. Soundara Rajan has found the fragment of a vase in blackish grey ware from the excavations at Perur containing the representation of *vāmāvarta svastika*.[48]

The above study of the *svastika* on ancient Indian potsherds shows that the antiquity of this symbol may be traced back to the proto-historic period, i. e., c. 3rd Millennium B.C. This symbol seems to have been quite popular in the Indus civilization as it is depicted on some seals found from Mohenjo-daro,[49] Harappa,[50] and on some sherds discovered at Rangpur.[51] The discovery of two bowls with *svastika* mark, belonging to the Harappan period found

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. K. V. Soundara Rajan. *op. cit.*, p. 34, pl. L.B.

49. Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation,* Vol. II, p. 374, Vol. III, pl. *CVI-CIV-C-IV* 500–515. The *Svastika* which have been found on Mohenjo-daro seals are of two types clockwise and anti-clockwise, but most of them being anticlockwise.

50. M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*. Vol. II (Sign manual); pl. c VI 89-21; S. R. Rao, (Presidential Address), *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India* (ed.) ; A. M. Sastri and others, fig. 4A, 9. A cross-like symbol whose upper two arms are bent in right angles—left and rightward direction which is similar to *svastika*.

51. S. R. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 130, pl. XXVII, A4.

from Altine Depe in Torkameina,[52] indicate how this auspicious symbol reached beyond India. It continued even on the potsherds of Central India chalcolithic culture[53] and also on the Painted Grey Ware[54] the latter believed to represent the Aryan culture.

Although the representation of *svastika* is found on the Punch-Marked coins but on the potsherds of early historical period it is altogether absent. After a long gap it is from 2nd century B.C. onwards that the traditional symbol appears along with other auspicious motifs such as the *śaṅkha*,[55] the *nandipada*,[56] the *nāga*,[57] the *yūpa*[58] and the *pūrṇaghaṭa*.[59] The *śaṅkha* is one of the auspicious objects associated with lord *Viṣṇu* who holds it in one of his hands. The *nandipada* is also a religious symbol. It is generally depicted on the indigenous coins of ancient India. On the Aśvaka coin[60] a human figure is shown worshipping the *nandipada*. The *nāga* figures are, sometimes, adorned by *svastika*. *Takṣaka*, the great *nāga*, has on his hood the

52. Shashi Asthana, *History and Archaeology of India's Contact with other countries*, p. 68, fig. 40, 3, p. 69, pl. XII.

53. H. D. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

54. B. B. Lal, *op. cit.*. p. 34, pl. XXIX, 4, fig. 10, 64.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 70, pl. XXXXI, 5.

56. K. N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 20, pl. XI, 2.

57. Y. D. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 126, fig. 7.4.

58. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 229, pl. facing, p. 231.

59. *Ibid.*

60. S. K. Chakrabortty, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Varanasi, 1973, p. 156.

mark of *svastika.*[61] The *Yūpa* in the form of cult symbol, is related with *Svastika.* It is found on inscribed pot of Kailvan. The worship of pillar is non-Buddhist and was prevalent in the pre-Aśokan period. In Indian literature such pillar is called *Chaityayūpa.* The pillar with *Svastika* is found on Audumbara coins,[62] datable to Ist century B.C.

The *Pūrṇaghaṭa* (a vase of plenty), commonly depicted in Indian art, is also a religious symbol among the *aṣṭamāṅgalikas.* The *svastika* is depicted along with *pūrṇaghaṭa* and other auspicious symbols on a door-Jamb, belonging to the Gupta period, discovered from Tumain district Guna, M.P.[63]

The depiction of *svastika* particularly on the pot-sherds of Arretine and rouletted ware found from Amkamedu,[64] datable to first cent. A.D., is of great cultural significance. The excavations at Arikamedu revealed a well-defined stratigraphical record of extensive trade and commercial relations which existed between India and the Western world. The occurrence of these sherds may indicate the influence of Indian culture on the Greeco-Roman culture.

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61. T. G. Nath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol. II, pt. II, p. 557; J. P. H. Vogel. *Serpent Lore,* Varanasi, 1972, p. 27.

62. S. K. Chakrabortty, *op. cit.,* p. 160.

63. K. D. Bajpai and others, *Tumain,* pl. VI.

64. Sir R. E. M. Wheeler and others, *op. cit.,* p. 49, pl. XXX A.2 & 3.

The traditional symbol *svastika* which has been found on the potsherds of different periods of Indian history indicates that the symbol moved from one place to another and was adopted by different people of different races due to cultural contact. The depiction of *svastika* on potsherds is indicative of its wide popularity. It is interesting to note that *Svastika* was not only a religious motif in ancient India but it was also popular in the ancient Civilizations of the world.

MAX WEBER AND HIS CRITICS REVISITED:
THE PROTESTANT ETHIC THESIS AND HINDUISM

Anantanand Rambachan

Minnesota

While working on the influence and impact of religious ideas on human motivation, the German Sociologist Max Weber in his work on "*Capitalism*" refers to the Indian society and argues that it did not develop rational bourgeois capitalism on the western model, because despite material requirements, Indian religious traditions did not provide the type of orientation needed for the economic growth favourable to capitalism which protestantism provided in the west.

In the present paper, the arguments of Weber's theory have been examined and its limitations pointed out by the author.

Introduction

In his renowned and controversial work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* the German sociologist Max Weber investigated the influence and impact of religious ideas on human motivation. He sought to demonstrate that the doctrines of certain branches of Protestantism, particularly Calvinism, favoured the rational

pursuit of economic gain. Weber employed various methods to establish this correlation. After defining the constituent values of the "spirit of capitalism", he seeks to establish a congruence between these and the ethics of the ascetic branches of Protestantism. More specifically, Weber tries to trace the progressive development of the spirit of capitalism through Protestant writings. Weber also utilizes statistical information about occupational preferences in parts of Germany which showed the tendency of Protestants to outnumber Catholics in the ownership and leadership of capitalistic enterprise, and in scientific, technical and business careers as opposed to humanistic ones.

These various attempts at proof are collectively referred to as the "method of agreement". By the "method of difference", Weber studied the civilizations of India and China to find the reasons for the failure of these societies to develop rational bourgeois capitalism on the Western model. The gist of Weber's argument is that while the material requirements of capitalism were present in these societies and, in fact, compared favourably with the West, their respective religious traditions did not provide the type of orientation to economic activity favourable to such a development. Such an orientation was provided in the West by Protestantism.

Contrary to what is sometimes popularly believed, Weber was not the first to posit a relationship between the Protestant ethic and the rise of capitalism. When he began his study, this hypothesis was already in existence. It was widely documented and accepted and it seemed that little could be gained by accumulating more and more evidence. It was certainly not Weber's intention to sta-

tistically verify any correlation. What he set out to do was to provide an interpretation of a correlation which had already been demonstrated. A lot of the criticism of Weber's work might be better directed if it is kept in mind that he assumed rather than tried to prove the existense of a positive relation between Protestantism and economic growth.

The evidence for such a relationship in Weber's time was plenty. Observers like Montesquieu, Buckle, Keats, Southney and Matthew Arnold had commented on the relationship between Protestantism and the development of the commercial spirit. An investigation made by one of Weber's students about the relationship between religious affiliation and educational choice in the state of Baden indicated that Protestants appeared more inclined than Catholics to select High Schools which were oriented towards the industrial way of life. In Imperial Germany and elsewhere, Catholics had been subjected to oppressive legislation but, unlike other minorities, never compensated for this by intensifying economic activity. It was also known that Protestant sects like the Quakers and Baptists had been as proverbial for their wealth as their piety.

This study begins with an examination of the main arguments of Weber's thesis. I then proceed to examine its application to Indian society and evaluate the responses of some of his principal contemporary critics. I conclude with my own observations about the limitation of his analysis.

The Protestant Ethic Argument

In understanding Weber's thesis as well as the wider application of his argument to Oriental civilizations, it is important to recognize the very specialized sense in which

he uses the term "capitalism". At the beginning of his work, he strongly insists on its distinction from the universal impulse to acquire. It is not synonymous with greed.

> The impulse to acquisition, pursuit of gain, of money has in itself nothing to do with capitalism. This impulse exists and has existed among waiters, physicians, coachmen, artists, prostitutes, dishonest officials, solidiers, nobles, crusaders, gamblers and beggars. One may say that it has been common to all sorts and conditions of men at all times and in all countries of the earth, wherever the objective possibility of it is or has been given...... Unlimited greed for gain is not in the least identical with capitalism, and is still less its spirit.[1]

In defining capitalism. Weber also distinguishes it from traditionalism. The traditional worker preferred less work to more pay. During working hours, he sought a maximum of comfort and a minimum of exertion and was either unwilling or unable to adapt to new methods of work. The spirit of capitalism, on the other hand, is not circumscribed by any limit to acquisition by traditional needs. There is no standard of satiety as in the traditional worker. Acquisition is freed from any definite limit and has become an endless process. The typical reaction of the traditional worker to an increase in piece rates is not to earn more by a greater output of labour, but, by lesser work, to earn the same amount as before.

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1. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* (hereafter abbreviated *The Protestant Ethic*), 2nd ed. (London : Allen and Unwin, 1978), p. 17.

> A man does not "by nature" wish to earn more and more money, but simply to live as he is accustomed to live and earn as much as is necessary to earn for that purpose. Wherever modern capitalism has begun its work of increasing the productivity of human labour by increasing its intensity, it has encountered the immensely stubborn resistance of this leading trait of pre-capitalistic labour.[2]

The spirit of capitalism distinguishes itself from traditionalism by its dynamism. Instead of accepting conventional ways of doing things, the capitalistic attitude is to reorganize its methods in terms of the efficient accomplishment of the task. While the end, which is the maximization of wealth, might be inflexible, the means are not necessarily so. The spirit of capitalism, as defined by Weber, is also to be distinguished from the practice of the capitalistic adventurer which involves speculation in opportunities for gain, as in the case of exploiting the financial possibilities of war. He also pointed out that this spirit was not uniquely Western and unprecedented if one considers it as an attribute of a few individuals. There have always been economic supermen who conducted business on a highly competitive basis, who worked harder than any of their employees, whose personal habits were frugal and who used their earnings for investment. Weber, however, is talking about the rise of a new economic order and this could not be the creation of a few isolated individuals.

For Weber, the capitalistic attitude to economic activity is exceptional and historically unique. It involves an

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2. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

orientation to work in which the waste of time is utterly reprehensible.

> One of its most conspicuous symptoms is the *ethical* feeling against early retirement from active work. A man who does not "produce" as long as he has health and strength, no matter how well he can afford to retire, is somehow neglecting his ethical responsibilities.[3]

It is characterized by what he terms, "formal rationality". Actions are calculated in terms of opportunities and needs and costs are related to goals. It involves a money economy, the separation of the household from the productive economic enterprise, a free market and an institutional order in which the possibility of making calculations about the profitability of different courses of action was possible. Acquisition is not viewed as a necessary evil, or as a means to some other end, but as an ethically enjoined goal in itself. This is one of its most unique and distinguishing features.

> It is thought of so purely as an end in itself, that from the point of view of the happiness of, or utility to, the single individual, it appears entirely transcendental or absolutely irrational. Man is dominated by the making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of his life. Economic acquisition is no longer subordinated to man as the means for the satisfaction of his material needs. This reversal of what we should call the natural relationship, so irrational from a naive point of view, is evidently as defini-

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3. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949), p. 515.

tely a leading principle of capitalism as it is foreign to all peoples not under capitalistic influence.[4]

The liberation from traditionalism, which is implied in capitalism, does not involve freedom from discipline and control. Acquisitive tendencies are, in fact, approved only under strict discipline and control. In terms of organization, capitalism is characterized by what Weber technically refers to as bureaucracy, viewed by him as a distinctive feature of modern Western economic order. The characteristics of this type of organization are well summarized by Parsons.[5] The organization, from the view of its participants, is devoted to an impersonal end. There is a specialized division of labour based on technical criteria and a hierarchical organization of authority. The authority wielded by any participant is the authority of his "office" and not based on any personal influence. The typical form of reward in a bureaucratic organization is a salary which is a "guarantee of a scale of living consonant with the social position of the official according to his rank".[6]

Weber, as mentioned above, traced a congruence between this spirit of capitalism, and the ethics of some of the ascetic branches of Protestantism, particularly Calvinism. The theology of Calvinism gave rise to certain unique attitudes to worldly activities and pursuits. A transcendent God had declared from eternity, without

4. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, p. 58.

5. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, pp. 505-9.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 506-7.

being affected by his foreknowledge of what humans would be and do, that some of them should be saved and others condemned. There was no way of knowing whether one was saved or damned, and no action on one's part is of any help with regard to the attainment of salvation. For Calvin himself, predestination did not present any problem. He felt himself to be a member of the elect, a chosen agent of God, and was certain of his own salvation. He felt that one should be content with the knowledge that God has chosen and that one should have implicit trust in Christ which is the result of true faith. Calvin rejected the idea that it was possible to learn from the conduct of others whether or not they were saved because this constituted an unjustifiable attempt to force God's secrets. Bereft of any assistance in his quest for salvation, the individual was isolated and lonely.

> In its extreme inhumanity this doctrine must above all have had one consequence for the life of a generation which surrendered to its magnificient consistency. That was a feeling of unprecedented, inner loneliness of the single individual.[7]

For Calvinists, this uncertainty created what Weber termed, "a salvation-panic". Calvin, therefore, taught that each man was duty bound to consider himself chosen and to reject all doubts as a temptation of the devil. Lack of self confidence was interpreted as a sign of insufficient faith. To attain that self-confidence, increasing work in a calling was recommended. The logic behind this course of action was that since the chosen could only approach

7. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, p. 104.

their distant, transcendent God by seeing themselves as instruments of his divine will, the outlet for this conception lay in ascetic activism. Within the Calvinist scheme, therefore, the practice of good works became an indispensable sign of election. Since only those who are saved can do anything pleasing to God, it was through the objective evidence of a good life that one attained certainty of being predestined to salvation.

> Thus, however useless good works might be as a means of attaining salvation, for even the elect remain beings of the flesh, and everything they do falls infinitely short of divine standards, nevertheless, they are indispensable as a sign of election. They are the technical means, not of purchasing salvation, but of getting rid of the fear of damnation.[8]

The concept of a "calling" was radically enlarged by this view. In the mediaeval Christian view, the highest form of a calling was the renunciation of the world for the dedicated pursuit of the religious life in a monastery. Acquisitive activities were devalued. With Calvinism, however, the asceticism which was once confined to the monastery became "inner-wordly". It went into the market place and the workshop and expressed itself in hard disciplined labour. The expression of religious energies in active asceticism was facilitated by the complete transcendence of God. It excluded, for example, any mystical attitude of union or absorption with the divine, as well as any great emphasis on ritualism.

In his treatment of the relationship between Protestantism and the rise of capitalism, Weber made it utterly

8. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

clear that the Protestant reformers themselves were concerned precisely with the salvation of the soul and not the promotion of capitalism. In Weber's understanding, the representatives of Protestantism influenced changes which they themselves never anticipated. Weber's argument on this matter is often misunderstood. He is also sometimes misrepresented as championing a view diametrically opposed to that of Karl Marx. Weber was not proposing that the ethic of Protestantism, with its value for methodical work, gave rise to capitalism. It was only one element of major importance in the genesis of capitalism. Weber clearly did not see religious ideas as the only variable in the situation, independent of economic and political circumstances. He differed from Marx, however, in arguing for the independent origin of ideas. Since Marx held that ideas express economic interests, the way to explain the emergence of particular sets of ideas was to identify the material interests of those who advocated these. Weber, however, held the view that in the inception of an idea, there was very rarely a relationship between the content and the material interests of its articulators.

The concept which best describes the relationship proposed by Weber is "elective affinity". This idea suggests that whenever a group is attracted to an ethical system, originating entirely out of concern with salvation and ultimate meaning, a process commences whereby the group "elects" those aspects of the original system of ideas with which they have an "affinity". Thus, as soon as a new religious idea initiates a religious movement, those elements of its message relevant and meaningful to the social circumstances of its members are selected. Weber thought that there was no prior relationship between the content

of the message and the material interests of its first adherents. Nevertheless, this process of selecting, sifting and supplementing soon commences, dictated by material interests. It is a spontaneous convergence of the religious ethic and material interests. expressing itself in a dynamic involvement in economic activity. This convergence of religious ethic and material interests brings Weber very close to a Marxist position. since he held that ideas are discredited unless they point in the direction that various interests promote. One of the important criticism of Weber's argument, however, is that it does not sufficiently explain why this particular solution to the problem of salvation, which is not necessarily the logical development of Calvinism, appears in the first case.[9] J. M. Yinger wonders why is it that among the various tendencies within Calvinism, those that were favourable to the rising economic system were sorted out and emphasized, and the other equally important tendencies minimized. He suggests an explanation in terms of the origin of Calvinism and its setting.

> What could be more convincing to a businessman, who was also seriously interested in his eternal salvation, than the theory that worldly success was a sign of God's favour.[10]

In his description of capitalism in its most developed stage, Weber's account converges with that of Marx. The religious basis has now withered away, man is forced to work in a machine dominated civilization, and wealth has

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9. J. M. Yinger, *The Scientific Study of Religion* (London: The Macmillan Co., 1970), p. 384.

10. *Ibid.*

become an end in itself, stripped of all ethical and spiritual meaning.

> The Puritan wanted to work in a calling; we are forced to do so. For when asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate worldly morality, it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order. This order is now bound to the technical and economic conditions of machine production which to-day determine the lives of all the individuals who are born into this mechanism, not only those directly concerned with economic acquisition, with irresistible force.[11]

The Failure of Rational Bourgeois Capitalism to Emerge in India

In his analysis of Chinese and Indian societies, Weber sought to show why these societies did not develop capitalism of the Western type, in spite of the fact that non-religious factors were as favourable to such development as in the West. He examined the implications of the religious values in these societies to demonstrate how they failed to provide the motivation to economic activity which Protestantism supplied in the West.

In the case of China, Weber found that Confucianism contained a great deal of the rationalism characteristic of the West. It is primarily utilitarian and worldly in its orientation and positively values wealth. Its central concern was with conduct in this life, and it strongly denounced the irrational elements in religion as well as its transcendental and orgiastic elements. In the absence of a

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11. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic,* p. 181.

caste system, Chinese society provided at least a formal equality of opportunity in choice of occupation and, in the mandarins, had a special class of bureaucratic administrators. Weber, however, identified a number of factors which frustrated the development of capitalism. Real administration was in the hands of a large number of subordinates appointed by the mandarins, and they were not subjected to bureaucratic discipline. They were likely to be influenced by local and family interests. Bureaucracy then, in spite of its potential remained only a superstructure and did not penetrate the social structure.

Cunfucianism was also limited by a fundamental traditionalism. The bureaucracy was never specialized since the identical body of knowledge and skills was required of everyone. In fact, the ideal of the Confucian gentleman was a static one. It was based on the assimilation of a traditional body of literary culture and its aim was to live in harmony with the established order of society. In spite of the fact that the Confucian gentleman himself did not participate in popular magic and superstition, he made no effort to combat their existence and these remained widespread. All this, of course, stands in contrast to the revolutionary nature of the Protestant ethic with its emphasis on the rational mastery of the world. Weber also identified in Chinese society the absence of an ethical universalism which is indispensable for the functioning of the economic system of the West. Chinese society was characterized by a more particularistic emphasis, centred on the kinship system. In terms of his wider theory about the emergence of different types of prophets in different systems of religious thought, Weber sees the failure to emerge in China of the ethical prophet of Judaism as

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another factor reinforcing traditionalism. In the West, these were held to be the main source of the break with tradition and the growth of ethical rationalism.

Almost one-third of Weber's discussion on Indian society is centred on the institution of caste, which he sees as being inseparable from Hinduism. The classical four-fold division of *brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas* and *śūdras* is the general framework for a large number of hierarchically arranged subcastes. These are usually hereditary occupational groups, so that the division of society into castes is a functional division of labour on a hereditary basis. Caste divisions are unparalled in the extent to which ritual barriers exist among them. Strict rules of marriage and commensality generally prevail. The caste system becomes a force for the preservation of the traditional order of society, and thus a barrier against the emergence of capitalism as described by Weber, because of the justification it finds in certain common doctrines of Hinduism and the manner in which it is related to these. The caste position of the individual is not the accident of birth, but the inexorable consequence of actions in prior existences.

> In India the idea of "accident of birth" so critical of society is almost completely absent. The idea of 'accident of birth" is common to traditionalistic Confucians and occidental social reformists. The Indian views the individual as born into the caste merited by conduct in a prior life.[12]

The caste system held out lofty hopes to one who found himself in its lower ranks. Ascent to the heavenly

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12. Max Weber, *The Religion of India* (New York : The Free Press, 1967), p. 121.

worlds or to the ranks of the *brāhmaṇas* or *kṣatriyas* was possible, but the prerequisite was the strict fulfilment of the duties (*dharma*) of one's own caste group. The whole organization worked in the direction of sanctioning the preservation of tradition and against all innovation and occupational change. Its effects were, on the whole, negative and could not on its own generate rational bourgeois capitalism.

> A ritual law in which every change of occupation, every change in work technique, may result in ritual degradation is not capable of giving birth to economic and technical revolution from within itself, or even of facilitating the first germination of capitalism in its midst.[13]

Caste also prevented, in Weber's view, the full development of the industrial guilds which could have broken through the inhibitions of traditionalism.

While Weber saw the doctrines of *karma* and *saṃsāra* as pervading all levels of society and engendering a concern with a better birth in the future, the elect were concerned with salvation in a very different sense. Salvation was not the accomplishment of a temporary sojourn in a heavenly world. It was freedom from the transitory nature of existence, whether in this world or any other. This meant the quest for escape from *karma,* the immediate cause of the cycle of births and deaths (*saṃsāra*). This quest, according to Weber, expressed itself either in mysticism or asceticism, both of which led to a deprecation of mundane life. The cyclical pattern of the world order gave it a character of immutability.

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13. *Ibid.,* p. 112.

> The devaluation of the world which each salvation religion brought with it could here only become absolute flight from the world. Its highest means could be nothing other than mystic contemplation, not active ascetic conduct. The prestige of this holy path as the highest of all was not modified by the mass of various different ethical teachings. Always the extraordinary quality and irrationality of the holy means remained. Either they were of an orgiastic character and linked quite immediately in anti-rational manner to the course of each alien life methodology, or they were indeed rational in method but irrational in goal.[14]

Even the *Bhagavadgītā*, according to Weber, with its emphasis on the compatibility of salvation with worldly activities, could not break through the force of tradition, for it was still mystically oriented in its stress on detachment from the world while in the midst of it. Therefore, in striking contrast to the Calvinist, "it would occur to no Hindu to see in the course of his economic professional integrity, the signs of his state of grace or—what is more important—to evaluate and undertake the rational constitution of the world according to empirical principles as a realization of God's will".[15]

In spite of its anti-brahmanical and anti-caste position, Buddhism did not mark any radical departure from this outlook. In Weber's view, it took the contemplative ideal even further, and provided no direct sanction to ascetic involvement in the world. The absence of ethical universalism and the non-emergence of the ethical prophet were further reasons advanced by Weber for the failure of Hin-

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14. *Ibid.*, p. 326.

15. *Ibid.*

duism to generate within itself the rational bourgeois capitalism of the West.

Weber's Critics

While *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* has attracted considerable critical attention, his wider application of the theory has not provoked a similar response. T. O. Ling is one of the few who have made appraisals of Weber's work on India.[16] According to Ling, Weber's account of India would have been very different if he had actually visited there. He offers a number of arguments against Weber's thesis. First, he cites the rapid economic development of India since independence, which he attributes to improvements in the agricultural sector as well as to the deliberate policy of industrialization as a part of the government's development programme. This kind of evidence has also been cited by others to refute Weber's thesis. This argument, however, seems to me to miss the central point of Weber's study which is the failure of Indian society to generate rational bourgeois capitalism from within its own system. A certain time perspective should be kept in mind. Economic development in modern India has been stimulated by the impact of Western ideas and techniques and is not, therefore, of complete indigenous origin.

Ling also argues that the mass of Indians are "predominantly secular in their aims, attitudes and styles of life". This is so, says Ling, in spite of the fact that this secularism is given a religious character by cultic practices.

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16. T. O. Ling, "Max Weber in India", *University of Leeds Review* 16 (1973), 42-65.

It is difficult, however, to see what Ling makes of this fact, especially since he also admits that it was appreciated by Weber. The fact that these secular ends were pursued primarily through cultic means is, in fact, an argument in Weber's favour. Ling points to the readiness of the Indian peasant to adopt modern alternatives where these are available, but misses the point that such options were not there until relatively recent times. The presence of secular aspirations has to be seen in the context of the limitations imposed on their fulfilment by the caste system.

Ling refers to the limited influence of salvation religions and argues that Weber overestimates their effect on the population. In terms of the general population, however, Weber was more interested in arguing for the pervasiveness of the doctrines of *karma* and *saṃsāra* and the connection of these with the caste system. This, according to Weber, was the iron lid on the emergence of modern capitalism. Ling does not seem to take note of this central argument of Weber.

Ling refers next to the role of religious movements during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the rise of Indian nationalism. He emphasizes the secular nature of this Hindu response.

> By about 1910, therefore, such contributions as the theistic salvation-cults of India were making to the pattern of Indian public life, was mainly that of assisting and strengthening the dominantly political trend of nationalist activity. The religious cults do not appear to have been influential in encouraging any transcendental

> flight from this world and its affairs, or any devaluation of worldly concerns and activities far from it.[17]

Here again, like his earlier citing of modern economic progress in India, and his later reference to the development of the Tata Company. Ling is using evidence from a period when the circumstances were very different. The rise of Indian nationalism was directly influenced by the Western impact, which also stimulated a revaluation of traditional religious doctrines and sought to give these doctrines a dynamic activist orientation.

Ling also discusses the rational elements in Indian culture and accuses Weber of ignoring the contemporary relevance of these. There are two points involved here. Ling fails to appreciate that Weber's contention is not so much the presence of rational elements, but the sphere and direction in which this rationality is applied. The point, however, which is more important is that the mere presence of rational elements is not enough, especially if these elements exist side by side with irrational elements and are not singled out and emphasized. One saw attempts of this sort being made in the Indian renaissance of the late nineteenth century. In drawing on the example of the economic success of Indians in countries like Burma and Malaya, Ling is committing the same error of which he accuses Weber. These instances should not be cited without considering the special circumstances of these communities. While caste position may have a motivational advantage, one would have to take into account the level of religious beliefs, the impact of education, and the effects of being a minority community.

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17. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

In the final analysis, Ling's critique seems to lie only on the periphery of Weber's thesis. He offers no alternative explanation to account for the non-emergence of rational bourgeois capitalism in India, and his position seems to be very ambiguous as far as the role of religious ideas in influencing economic behaviour is concerned.

M. Singer's critique is more positive than Ling's, although he also seems to miss Weber's cardinal point, and raises many marginal arguments.[18] Two positive features of Weber's work cited by Singer are its contribution to the breaking down of the racial stereotyping of the Asians, and its combination of the "textual studies of the humanist" with the "contextual studies of the social scientist". Singer thinks that Weber's thesis is weakened by its own evidence. He points to the methods mentioned by Weber for circumventing the fears of ritual contamination in mixed-caste workshops and the traits in the traditional castes conducive to trade and industry. Singer also draws attention to Weber's discussion of the types of change in caste resulting from "residential mobility, property differentiation, altered occupation or work technique, membership of a sect, disintegration of the ritual traditions among some members, ritually illicit cohabitation and failure to settle internal disputes".[19] These suggest mobility and elasticity within the caste system. These specific examples, however, supplied by Weber himself, do not undermine the main line of his argument. The industry of the arti-

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18. Milton Singer, review of *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*, by Max Weber, in *American Anthropologist* 16 (1961), 143-51.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

san class, for example, was still limited by the general constrictions of the caste system and the existence of a certain degree of mobility and elasticity in the system did not modify the traditionalism of the society. Even when Weber admits the flexibility of the caste system in accommodating mixed-caste workshops, he does not see this as affecting his claim about the failure of capitalism to emerge in the society.

> The core of the obstacle did not lie in such particular difficulties, which every one of the great religious systems in its way has placed, or has seemed to place, in the way of the modern economy. The core of the obstruction was rather imbedded in the "spirit" of the whole system. In modern times it has not always been easy, but eventually it has been possible to enploy Indian caste labour in modern factories. And even earlier it was possible to exploit the labor of Indian artisans capitalistically in the forms usual elsewhere in colonial areas, after the finished mechanism of modern capitalism once could be imported from Europe. Even if all this has come about, it must still be considered extremely unlikely that the modern organization of industrial capitalism would ever have *originated* on the basis of the caste system.[20]

Singer goes on to argue that while Weber was aware of the "this-worldly asceticism" in Hinduism, particularly as elaborated in the *Bhagavadgītā*, he overlooked this major parallel to the Protestant ethic in Hindu thought. The *Bhagavadgītā* undoubtedly introduced into the arena of Indian thought a novel concept of work. In its redefinition of renunciation, not as abstention from activity, but

20. Weber, *The Religion of India*, p. 112.

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as the freedom from the hankering for the fruits of action, it made action compatible with the pursuit and gain of *mokṣa*. Renunciation was given a meaning it never possessed before. In addition, however, to the fact that work in the *Bhagavadgītā* was still defined within the context of the caste system, this positive evaluation of work was never really emphasized until the Indian resurgence of the late nineteenth century. At a time when a need was seen for religion to provide a motivation for involvement in and transformation of society, the *Bhagavadgītā's* attitude to action enabled it to become the text in the vanguard of the rising nationalist movement. This was something new and it is strange that Singer does not see this and instead uses it as an argument against Weber's thesis. Like Ling, Singer cites rational elements in Indian thought and accuses Weber of not giving sufficient weight to them. As argued above, the mere presence of these elements is not enough to refute Weber. Some of Singer's more particular criticisms of Weber's study, such as his characterization of the Śaivite sects, and his claim that the masses were completely ignorant of matters of salvation, are valid, and it is undeniable that many of the details of Weber's study call for modification. These are not, however, intrinsic to his main thesis.

The criticisms of M. D. Morris do not seem either to refute Weber's contention.[21] Morris argues that scholarly dependence on brahmanical literature has given the impression that this literature had a pervasive influence

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21. M. D. Morris, "Values as an Obstacle to Economic Growth in South Asia: An Historical Survey", *Journal of Economic History* 27 (1967), pp. 588-607.

on Indian society. He points out that not only does this literature itself contain great theological variety, but that there is no single book or authoritative church to impose doctrinal uniformity. In the face of the diversity of philosophical concerns and theological positions, he doubts whether this literature was really representative. Morris suggests that there is the further problem of determining the effect of a formal system of ideas and values on actual behaviour. Recent anthropological studies, according to Morris, show that the values to which the lower status groups aspire may not be brahmanical. These groups tend to respond to the values and practices of the dominant group in their area, which may be *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya*. The various strands of Hindu theology, according to Morris, "could have been extracted and combined in a variety of ways to rationalize or stimulate a variety of economic behaviours ranging from the most passive and other worldly to the most aggressive and profit-maximizing".[22]

Reading Weber's account of Indian religion does not at all give the impression that he is arguing for a theological or doctrinal uniformity. In fact, one of the problems of reading Weber is caused by the numbers of qualifications which he attaches to every generalization. Accepting this theological diversity, however, he argues that they did have a certain basic similarity in their orientation to the world, and consequently in whatever motivation they provided to conduct. While Morris refers to this diversity, he does not comment on their orientation to the world and to economic activity.

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22. *Ibid.*, p. 595.

Morris's second major criticism is that the concept of *jāti* is the one that is economically relevant, and not the concept of *varṇa*.

> The *jāti* is the functional social unit in the countryside; the *jāti* exhibits whatever ritualized and religiously determined behaviour we will find; only the *jāti* embodies those notions of belief, bulwarked by specific concepts of pollution, which could have any systematic effect on economic behaviour. It is, therefore, not analytically appropriate to lump discrete *jāti* into large groups merely because of similarity of function or name.[23]

It is not true to argue that Weber failed to recognize the functional importance of the *jāti* (sub-castes).

> Only the subcastes actually carry on a life of unified regulation, and they alone are organized—insofar as a caste organization exists. Caste itself often designates merely a social claim raised by those closed organizations. Often, but not always, the caste is the womb of the subcastes; and on rare occasions the caste is characterized by certain organizations common to all subcastes. More frequently, the caste has certain characteristics of life conduct traditionally common to all subcastes.[24]

In addition to this, the concept of *jāti* is not completely unrelated to *varṇa*. As Srinivas points out, the *varṇa* provides the general framework into which innumerable *jātis* fit.[25]

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23. *Ibid.*, p. 603.

24. Weber, *The Religion of India*, pp. 46-47.

25. M. N. Srinivas, "The Caste System in India", in *Social Equality*, ed. A. Beteille (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Inc., 1969), pp. 265-72.

> It systematizes the chaos of *jātis* and enables the sub-castes of one region to be comprehended by people in another area by reference to a common scale. Further, the *varṇa-system* represents a scale of values, and *jātis* occupying the lower rungs have throughout tried to raise their status by taking over the customs and rituals of the top *jātis*. This has helped the spread of a uniform culture throughout Hindu society.[26]

But surely, the point at stake here is not so much what are the functional groups, but the nature of their functioning, and, in terms of Weber's argument, the rigidity of organization which could limit growth. Morris cites examples among Ahmedabad and Bombay enterprises of inter-*jāti* cooperation in both the traditional and business sectors. He also refers to inter-*jāti* collaboration within the labour force. His arguments, like those of Ling and Singer, are again weakened by the fact that his examples are drawn from the middle and late nineteenth century.

Conclusion

The various arguments proposed against Weber do not refute his explanation for the failure of civilizations such as China and India to indigenously develop the system of rational bourgeois capitalism of the West. The burden of discrediting his theory lies with his critics and it has not yet been done. This does not imply, however, that Weber's analysis cannot be improved and refind. In a theory such as Weber's, which emphasizes the importance of values and motivation, it is important to consider levels

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 265-66.

of learning. M. E. Spiro, for example, distinguishes five levels of ideological learning, and emphasizes that any assessment of the influence of an ideology depends on the level at which it has been learnt.[27] In ascending order of importance, an ideology can be learned about, understood, believed to be right, inform the actor's behavioural environment and structure his world, and, finally, serve both to guide and instigate behaviour.[28]

In his application of the framework to Burmese society, Spiro shows that a belief does not have to be internalized at the deepest motivational levels to influence behaviour. It is sufficient if the belief is "part of a society's culturally constituted behavioural environment and, hence, a constituent element of the actors' cognitive system".[29] Thus, even though the basic aspirations of the Buddhist in Burma are secular, and anti-Buddhist, Buddhism assures the individual that these goals can be achieved and provides guidelines for their accomplishment. This important finding is relevant for many of the critics of Weber, who seek to discredit his thesis by repeatedly citing the basic secular aspirations of the Indian masses. It is not necessary to show, as Ling demands, the conditions under which a given number of ascetics would impede economic growth.[30]

The strength of Weber's analysis still lies in the attention which he drew to the importance of the motivational

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27. M. E. Spiro, "Buddhism and Economic Action in Burma". *American Anthropologist* 68 (1966), pp. 1163-73.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 1163.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 1169.

30. Ling, "Max Weber in India", p. 54.

factor in behaviour, particularly the subtle and implicit connections between religious beliefs and behavioural patterns. It is obvious that a religious system does not have to make an explicit statement or outline a definite policy for its general orientation to affect economic pursuits. The continuing importance of this human factor is increasingly being appreciated in developing countries. Many of these have realized that it is not sufficient to import Western technology and models of development without a corresponding value reorientation. In support of Weber, it might be pointed out that the cultural factor is still an obstacle to the implementation of development plans in India. Dube refers to factors such as the absence of community consciousness and consensus on long term goals, the orientation to kin and caste, the ascriptive order with its numerous taboos and injunctions limiting occupational opportunity and mobility, and the low levels of aspiration.[31] On the other hand, the importance of values seems to be more positively affirmed in Kennedy's study of the Parsis. Kennedy applies a system of values, derived from Weber and Robert K. Merton, to Zoroastrianism.[32] He shows how the presence of concepts such as an underlying order in nature, a sensate standard of verification, and beliefs in the intrinsic worth of work and the maximization of material goods may have influenced the high level of involvement and success of the Parsis in commercial and technical pursuits.

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31. S. C. Dube, "Cultural Problems in the Economic Development of India", in *Religion and Progress in Modern India*, ed. R. N. Bellah (New York: The Free Press, 1968), pp. 43-55.

32. Robert E. Kenney, Jr., "The Protestant Ethic and the Parsis", *The American Journal of Sociology* 68 (1962), pp. 11-20.

> On the other hand, the case of the Parsis gives us more confidence in the reliability of the suggested positive association between the acceptance of commercial and technological values and the appearance of commercial and technological behaviour. Methodologically, the historical techniques used by Weber and Merton still are fruitful if one succeeds in finding those instances in the recorded history of the world which lend themselves to the analysis of current sociological interest.[33]

I consider the principal problem of Weber's study of Hinduism to be his pessimism about its flexibility to adapt to the demands of modern economic development. This is probably because of his insufficient attention to the response of Hindu thought under the impact of the West in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Except for one brief mention of this encounter, it is not treated in his study. It is possible to agree with Weber's thesis and question his pessimistic outlook. The Indian struggle for political liberation is a good example of how the reinterpretation of religious symbols, beliefs and values produced a tremendous motivation for heroism and sacrifice.

During this period, the *Bhagavadgītā* inspired the national struggle and the selflessness of the *karmayogī* meant the willingness to sacrifice life itself in the cause of national liberation. The *Bhagavadgītā's* concept of action and the positive value which it attributes to it, still contains the key to a new orientation to economic activity. The concept of work as worship is an idea that could produce a strong stimulation to activity. This idea has been

33. *Ibid.*, p. 20.

institutionalized in many of the modern Hindu movements. The Ramakrishna Mission, founded by Vivekānanda, is an example of this. Perhaps a theory of action can be formulated here which is more community centered and less individualistic. The pursuit of wealth (*artha*) is one of the four goals of life, which include pleasure (*kāma*), virtue (*dharma*), and spiritual liberation (*mokṣa*). The spirituality of Hinduism is not anti-materialistic and these could be used as the basis of emphasizing a new balance and harmony. This is particularly possible since the concept of *dharma* is not a static one, but must be constantly redefined with reference to changing circumstances. In spite of appearances to the contrary, Hinduism has never given its blessings to involuntary poverty. The doctrine of *karma* need not result in an attitude of fatalism and resignation. It does not necessarily curb individual volition if the dependence of the future on actions and efforts in the present is emphasized. In this connection, Spiro's observations about the effects of the doctrine in Burma are relevant.

> It is his belief in karma, and in the efficacy of merit as a means of improving his karma, that provides him with the expectation of altering, even dramatically altering, his future life-chances. On the assumption, then, that one's present existence is but a temporary way station in one's total life, it would seem quite obvious that hope, planning, and effort—not resignation, indifference and quiescence—are the conditions to which the belief in karma are conducive.[34]

34. M. E. Spiro, "Buddhism and Economic Action in Burma", p. 1172.

It is, of course, true that the Indian situation is complicated by the unique combination of the doctrine of *karma* with the organization of caste. But the strength and influence of the caste system in India and elsewhere is certainly being modified by the industrial process, the spread of education, and greater social and geographical mobility. There is also the interpretation of caste by contemporary Hindu interpreters based on the distribution and combination of qualities (*guṇas*), rather than birth. In this interpretation, the fourfold division is understood to represent psychological types suited to the different types of activities for which they are best inclined. This introduces a very modern concept of the harmonization of temparament and inclination with work. In the light of the profound transformation of Indian society, Weber's work has gained greater significance for the understanding of these changes. It still provides one of the most challenging explanations about the origins of modern capitalist society.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HEAD-DRESSES IN THE TERRACOTTA FEMALE FIGURINES OF KAUŚĀMBĪ

(*Suṅga Period*—200 *B. C.*)

SMT. PUSHPA TEWARI

Allahabad

The practice of wearing head-dresses among females may be traced back to Harappan Civilization. The terracotta figurines of *Suṅga* period from Kauśāmbī indicate the fondness of the females towards the head dresses. Various stylistic designs of head-dresses were composed attaching different auspicious symbols or motifs such as *paraśu, aṅkuśa, dhvaja, triśūla, vajra,* feathers and leaves etc. The complicated composition of hair-styles points out towards the existence of a special class of people having professional skill in the art of toiletting.

Though art is usually supposed to be an activity having very little to do directly with the common mesh of life, it is not altogether divorced from social life as such. Reflections of contemporary social conditions, practices and prejudices often intrude upon the artistic creation of the time and, if properly interpreted, they can be one of the source materials for reconstituting some aspects of social life not easily available in other kinds of sources.

Description of Head-Dresses[1]

Copious yield of terracotta figurines of Śuṅga period from Kauśāmbī suggests that it was the most flourishing centre of the terracotta industry at the time. Besides giving us an account of the creative imagination of the potter artist, these figurines are a veritable encyclopedia of dress, decoration and ornaments of the period of their artistic creation. Even at the first sight of the assemblage of Śuṅga terracotta figurines from Kauśāmbī[2] is noticed the predominance of female figurines and among them one is instantly impressed by the exquisitely ornate and stylistic head-dresses they wear. These head-dresses are of various types. The interesting feature of these head-dresses is that one head-dress is hardly identical with another reflecting thus not only the craftsmanship of the makers but also the craze of women for novelty in head-dresses as is seen now-a-days in U. K. These head-dresses may be divided in the following groups :

1. *Head-Dress Composed of two or three high rolls with auspicious symbols*[3]

This type of head-dress was divided in two or three rolls by a conical projection in the middle. These rolls were bound by ornamental ribons embossed with dots or floral designs. Five auspicious symbols are attached either

1. S. C. Kala, *Terracotta in the Allahabad Museum*, 1980, p. XVIII ; *Terracotta Figurines from Kausambi*, 1950, p. 11.

2. G. R. Sharma, *History to Prehistory*, 1980, p. 51 ; *Memoire of A.S.I.*, No. 74, 1949-50, p. 49.

3. S. C. Kala, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 15, Fig. 21, p. 16, Fig. 22 ; G. R. Sharma, *Memoire of A.S.I.*, No. 74, p. 48 ; *Allahabad Museum*, No. 5428, 5158, 2540.

to left or right side roll of the head-dress. These symbols are *paraśu, Aṅkuśa, Dhvaja, Triśūla* and *vajra*. They are also found on the figurines recovered from Mathura, Ahichchhatra, Tamluk and Rupar.[4] Sometimes five feathers or curved leaves or as suggested by Dr. Kala[5] the ears of corn are also attached to the rolls of the head-dress. Many beaded strings are visible on and around the rolls at regular intervals.

The auspicious symbols of the head-dresses indicate the religious connotation of the figurines. One figurine found from the altar of *Śyenciti* at Kauśāmbī supplements this view. The figures have been identified by Prof. G. R. Sharma[6] as the goddess Sinivālī mentioned in ritual texts like *Yajurveda, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Śulba* and *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* etc. In these texts this goddess has been described as "Sukaparda" (with fair head-dress) and "Sukurira" (with fair braids).[7] All these characteristics are depicted in the figurine of the goddess Sinivālī. This resemblance also interprets the religious sanctity of other figurines wearing this type of head-dress. It is also interesting to note that these auspicious symbols are closely related to different Gods of Hindu mythology. Possibly these figurines represent some popular deities of folk-cult.

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4. G. R. Sharma, *Memoire*, No. 74, p. 48 ; *Indian Archaeology–a review*, 1954-55, pl. xxxix, Fig. C.G.L. ; E. H. Johnston, "A terracotta figurine at Oxford", *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. X, 1942, p. 96.

5. S.C. Kala, *op. cit.*, 1980, p. 15.

6. G. R. Sharma, *Excavation at Kausambi* 1957–59, p. 122.

7. *Ibid*, p. 122.

2. *Bicornet Head-Dress*[8] :

This type of head-dress consisted of only two rolls with a central crest like jewel in between the rolls. Several beaded chains are depicted over these rolls. In one figurine rolls are decorated with honey comb designs which suggest that it might have been covered with a printed piece of cloth.[9] The rolls of the head-dress were sometimes large enough to bulge out on either side of the head. In some cases a braid emerges from each roll hanging on either side of the head. A beaded chain decorates the forehead along the hair-ridge. This type of head-dress was very popular[10] and was vogue till the 1st cent. A.D., as is evident from the terracotta female figurines of Kauśāmbī, Ahicchatra, Mathura etc. of this period.

3. *Basket-like head-dress*[11] :

Head-dresses were usually impressed with different motifs such as stars, dots, leaves and vertical bands. It was broad at the bottom and gradually becomes narrow at the top. From the top front of the head-dress suspends an ornamental veil or scarf to the back.[12] The top and bot-

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8. *Allahabad Museum* nos. 3510, 3258, 5198, 2535, 4698 ; S.C. Kala. *op cit.,* 1980 Fig. 23, 25, 125, Also 950, *op. cit.,* pl. I. Fig. A ; G. R. Sharma, "Excavation at Kausambi" 1957—59, pl. 45, Fig. 8.

9. S. Sahay, *Indian Costume, Coiffure and Ornaments,* 1975 p. 65.

10. *Ibid.,* Fig. 26, 32, 15, p. 77.

11. S.C. Kala, *op cit.,* 1980, Fig. 128, 130; Allahabad Museum No. 5443, 5472.

12. V. S. Agrawal, *Indian Art* (Hindi) 1977, p. 262-63 Fig 398. He suggests that there is some influence of Saka-Parthian headdress with pointed top.

tom of the headgear represents thick bordered panel embossed with star motifs. Several beaded chains are seen on the right side of the head. There is a striking similarity between this type of head-dress and those found on the Śuṅga terracotta figurines of Buxar. They look like a basket over the head. Sometimes its top is very high. We can call them as peaked head-dress.[13] Some Mauryan female figurines are also shown wearing a flat-topped or dome-shaped head-dress. This shows the continuity of this type of head-dress since Mauryan period. As regards their structure, it appears that they were made of a broad piece of fine cloth of cotton or silk over a triangular or square framework.

4. *Turbans*[14]

We also come across the head of a beautiful lady[15] wearing an ornamented turban closely resembling the turbans depicted in the sculptures of Bharahut and Sanchi. It might have been prepared by wrapping a piece of cloth around the head in a transverse manner thus forming a cross section on the right side of the head. An ornamental fillet has been attached around the lower part of the headgear in such a fashion that it looks like a frill on the lower part of the turban. One end of the fillet consisting of a circular clasp, comes from back to the top of the turban and remains suspended in front.[16]

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13. S. Sahay, *op. cit.*, p. 80, *Patna Museum* No. 6608.

14. S.C. Kala, *op. cit.*, 1980, Fig. 129 *Allahabad Museum* No. 5471.

15. Bachhofer, Ludwig. *Early Indian Sculpture*, 1973 plate 20 right fig. plate 28, pl. 29, pl. 31.

16. G.R. Sharma, *Ex. at Kausambi* 1957–59, pl. 45, fig. 11.

5. *Crown-like Head-Dress*[17] :

Head-dresses shaped like a crown or approaching the likeness of a crown are also visible in case of some figurines. Double semi-circular pearl-strings cover the forehead. At the centre of the strings a lotus medallion like clasp and five cord-like ribs represent the crown. The whole structure is very unique and it anticipates the more sophisticated form of tiara and crown of the succeeding period.

6. *Head-Dress as a Part of the Hair Arrangement*[18] :

In a good number of figurines the head-dress has been formed by arranging hair in different ways. Sometimes the hair is arranged on the sides, probably supported by headed chains or fillets. The fillets not only served the purpose of supporting the hair rolls but they also formed various arch like and flower like decorations at the back of the head. Sometimes only a decorative scarf covered the hair forming a frill at the top of the head which reminds the frilly or fan-shaped decorations on the female figurines of Indus Valley.[19]

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17. *Ibid.*, p. 77, Fig. 15, *CRSB* XIII D/254–58) III 16.

18. *Allahabad Museum* No. 4416, 3210, 2112, 2562, 715, 606, S.C. Kala, *op. cit.* 1980, p. 48, 49, 50.

19. E. Mackay, Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro, p. 78, pls. IXXVI. 3; IXXVI. 13; J. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization,* pls. XCIV, 12, 14, XCV 8, 26, 28. They also supplement the view that these head-dresses were made of striffened cotton cloth supported by means of a frame work.

Social Implication[20]

There is not a single female figurine which does not depict some type of head-dress. This indicates that the female folk of Śuṅga period were very fond of head-dresses.

But the literary sources of the period compell us to think otherwise. Even in Vedic texts there is only one reference of *Uṣṇīṣa* in connection with the goddess Indrāṇī (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIV 2.1.8). The words 'Sipra' 'Kumba' are used in connection with the head-dress of male persons. Though the words 'Kunra' and 'Opasa'[21] are considered to be indicative of some kind of female head ornament. 'Opasa' was a kind of metallic band, sometimes decorated with beaded chains as is seen on some figurines of Mauryan and Śuṅga period.[22] It may be summarised that the fashion of wearing the head-dress, which was so much popular in the Indus Valley, almost disappeared from the society[23] in the Vedic period. In the Buddhist period as well, there is no clear indication to the use of head-dress by women. In Mauryan period though we find terracotta figurines wearing elaborate bicornet type head-dresses resembling the head-dresses of Indus Valley female figurines, in literature, i. e., mainly in *Arthaśāstra* we do not come across any type of head-dress. In Śuṅga period *Mahābhāṣya, Manusmṛti, Rāmāyaṇa* also do not provide ample evidences for the extensive use of female head-dress as it is seen in the plastic art of the time. Patañjali has

20. Rahul Sankrityayana. *Ṛgvedic Ārya*, p. 157 (Rg. V.1.35.3)
21. Rai Govind Chand. *Vedic Yuga Ke Ābhūṣaṇa*, p. 18.
22. Didarganj Yaksi. Ludwig Bachhofer op. cit. pl. 9.
23. S. Sahaya, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

mentioned the word *Sarvakeśin Naṭāḥ* (II 1.69) which indicates that they used different types of head-dresses. *Manusmṛti* refers to them as belonging to low professional classes and among the despised groups of people (X.50 F. of J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India* as *depicted in Jaina Cannons* 1947, p. 144). This reference of *Mahābhāṣya* and *Manusmṛti* is very important. They suggest that head-dresses were used by the people of lower classes. The profuse occurrence of head-dress in the terracotta art also confirms this impression of the literature as it reflected folk-ways more than the elegant manners of the high class society. Gods and goddesses represented by this medium of plastic art belong mostly to folk-cults rather than to the elaborate pantheon of the established religions. The whole thing put together gives the impression that the practice of wearing head-dress especially among females continued from the days of Harappan civilization. But on account of its original association with a civilization which gave way to Aryan conquerers, it became to be associated with the folk people and failed to find popularity with the people of higher ranks and repute of Aryan society. That explains the relative paucity of references to it in the literature of the period.

In the Śuṅga period not only the coroplaste seems to take much care in the depiction of rather sophisticated and highly decorated head-dress but the available literature of the time also starts taking relatively greater notice of the hair styles. Is that on account of the fact that wearing elaborate head-dress was now increasingly becoming the fashion with ladies of the upper class ?

It is a known fact that Indo-Greek invasion took place in Śuṅga period. Patañjali states that Yavanas overwhelm-

ed the cities of Saketa and Madhyamika.[24] This invasion paved the way for a gradual transfusion of Indian and Greek cultures. The Indo-Greek coins, the gold jewellery unearthed at Taxila and the Gandhara sculptures bear witness to this ongoing process of intermingling.

The coins of Diodotus I, II, Heliocles I, Eucratides II, and joint coins of Strato I and Agatho clcia,[25] reveal that Greeks were very fond of elaborate head-dresses. Kings on these coins are depicted wearing a diadem and ornamented elephant scalp[26] like head-dresses resembling those of the early Bodhisattvas of the Gāndhāra school of art.[27] The terracotta figurine of Gajalakṣmī recovered from monastry of Kauśāmbī[28] wears a head-dress in which there is a depiction of two small elephants. It reminds one of the elephant type head-dress of Indo-Greek King Demetrius. The distinctive head-dress consisting of Greek elements are also depicted in the Kings' statues of Mathura.[29]

The gold jewellery found from Taxila (5th B.C. to 2nd B.C.)[30] also speaks of Greek influence which is clearly

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24. *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* II 118—19 (Kielhorn edition) c.f. *Indo-Greeks*, A.K. Narayana, p. 82.

25. A.K. Narayan, *Indo-Greeks*, pls. I, fig. 2, 3, 4, pl. II, fig. 2, 4, 5, pl. III, fig. 1.

26. L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, pls. 141, 147, all the figs.

27. A.K. Narayan, *op cit.*, pl. I Fig. 5-6.

28. G.R. Sharma, *History to Prehistory*, pp. 49-50.

29. A.S. Altekar, *The coinage of Gupta Empire*, pp. 14 FF.

30. J. Rosen-field, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kusana*, pl. 14, 15. G.M. Levin Bongard, *Indian and Central Asia*, ed. A. Guha, p. 99.

visible on designing and technique of the most of the jewellery. This suggests that they were the objects of foreign products. Few ornamentations on the jewellery like Svastika, Nandi-Pada etc. and some motifs like honey-suckle and grapes in the reliefs of early Indian sculptures as well, bear a most eloquent testimony[31] to the gradual fusion of cultures that was going on in the north-western part of India and which to some extent also affected the artistic creations of the remote interior of the country during the Śuṅga period.[32] As pointed out by Prof. G. R. Sharma the discovery of Mainhai groups of sculptures too imbibe in them the artistic creations of the age of Ashoka besides introducing novelties of their own. This group of sculptures has been attributed by him to the Indo-Greek King Menandar.

On the basis of all these facts can it be suggested that the fashion of elaborate head-dresses among the females of the upper strata of society was growing under the impact of the Indo-Greek culture. We should be very careful while suggesting the Greek influence behind the sudden change in the fashion of female head-dress. Female head-dress was not unknown to Indians but it was, as indicated above, confined largely to the lower section of the women folk. The fashion of head-dress among Greek ladies inspired Indian women of high status to use head-dress rather than to imitate the designs of their head-dresses. At least by the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. the head-dress became an essential item of the female attire.

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31. G.L. Adhya, *Early Indian Economics,* 1966, p. 63.
32. *Ibid,* p. 64.

In *Mahābhāṣya* we find some references indicative of the various stylistic arrangement of hair. It states that the hair arrangement was not so simple. There are references to various styles of hair-arrangement, like *'Keśānām Samāhāraḥ 'Cūḍasya' 'Keśacchadaḥ'* (II 2.24).[33] The word *'Jaṭi'* is used for twisted hair or keeping a tuft of hair on the crown of the head (*Sikhi* 1.1.2). He also refers to the cutting of the hair (*Keśān vapati* VI 1.9). There is an interesting reference to *'Tanukeśyaḥ Striyaḥ'* (VI 3.34) meaning ladies with delicate hair or with 'bob-wig.[34] We hardly find any plastic representation of this type of hair-style. Possibly it indicates Patañjali's knowledge of some Greek styles of hair-arrangement.

The preparation of such stylistic arrangement of hair or the complicated finishing of such head-dresses as are depicted on the female figurines of Kauśāmbi would not have been possible without a specialized professional skill. This indicates the existence of some kind of professional class. In the *Manusmṛti* there is a reference to *"Sairindhras"* (IV.152).[35] They are interpreted as *"Prasādhanopacārajña'* (X. 32). Manu has referred to them while describing the general activities performed in the first part of day. People of high class and rich status, needed attendants (both attendants are especially mentioned in *Manusmṛti*) to help them in personal decoration. There are several terracotta plaques which depict attendants holding mirror or tray of cosmetics in front of their noble ladies. *"Sairindhras'* were a special

33. B.N. Puri, *India in the time of Patañjali,* 1967.

34. *Ibid.,* p. 98.

35. V. S. Agrawal, *India as described by Manu,* p. 28.

class of people having professional skill in the art of toiletting (dressing, hair-dressing etc.), were called '*Sairindhra*' or '*Sairindhrī*' according to their sexes. This may be a reason why Draupadī named herself as "*Sairindhri*" in the harem of king Virāṭa.[36] There is also a probability that they were a more specialized class of barbers.[37] (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 44. Probably on account of the small size of their population they could not be listed among various professional groups in the literature. For their livelihood "*Sairindhras*" might have solely depended on the patronage of the rich class.

Artistic representations can thus be made to fill gaps in the fragmentary sources of ancient social history of India.

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36. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
37. R. Davids, *Buddhist India*, 1970 p. 41.

THE ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF THE IMAGES OF GAṄGĀ AND YAMUNĀ

A New Approach

SUDHAKAR PANDEYA

Chandigarh

The Mohenjodaro seal unearthed by Mackay in 1927, depicting the horned-goddess in the midst of a *Pīpala* tree before which another horned deity is kneeling down, may be said, the prototype form of the images of *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*. In course of time, these underwent a gradual transformation. The figures of *Sudarśanā Yakṣī* standing on makara and *Candrā Yakṣī* on the horse-headed *makara,* holding a branch of tree, sculptured on the Bharhuta railing pillars are the fore-runners of Gaṅgā and Yamunā of the latter times and remind us of strange animal portrayed on the Mohenjodaro-seal.

The origin and antiquity of the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā can be traced back to the Indus Valley culture. While conducting excavations at Mohenjodaro, Mackay had unearthed an important seal with some female figures on it. He refers to "the horned goddess in the midst of a *pipal* or sacred fig-tree, before which another horned deity is kneeling and doing obeisance. Both the goddess and her worshipper wear long plaits of hair, have their

arms adorned with bangles, and, in the case of the latter and possibly of the former as well, there is a floral or leafy spray springing from the head between the horns....A row of seven spirits or deities....occupy the lower register of the seal-amulet, each figure wearing a spring on the head, a long pig-tail behind, but no horns".[1]

Marshall describes it thus: "One of the most interesting of these (i. e. the seals) is that reproduced in Plate XII, Figure 18, in which the epiphany of the deity in the tree is portrayed in a half realistic, half conventional way. The tree itself at the right-hand top corner of the seal is represented by two branches only springing from a circle on the ground, and treated in a formal fashion. Between them appears the deity, a standing nude figure, with long hair, *Triśūla* horns and armlets....In front of the tree is a half-kneeling figure of a suppliant, also with long hair, *armlets and horns. Behind this suppliant is a composite* animal....In the field below is a line of seven small standing figures, with dresses reaching to knees, with a long plait of hair falling down the back, and a plume on the head.[2]

Wijesekera has discussed this seal. But he has restricted the discussion to, 'the identification of the female figures only, particularly the seven in lower register, the other objects on the seal being referred to only by way of

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1. E. J. H. Mackay, *Further excavations at Mohenjodaro*, 1938, New Delhi, p. 73.

2. H. Marshall. *Mohenjodaro and the Indus civilization*, 1931, London, p. 64, Pl. XII, Fig. 18.

elucidation of the former'.[3] He has identified the lower seven figures of the seal with seven rivers. To quote him. 'it would be reasonable to assume that the seven figures in the lower register of the Mohenjodaro seal are symbolic representation of seven deified rivers of the Indus Valley'.[4] It seems a well-founded presumption that these seven figures on the Mohenjodaro seal are the seven rivers of the Punjab of which the westernmost was Sindhu or the Indus and the easternmost was the Sarasvatī called the *Sabtathi* or the seventh river.[5] The other five streams were the Vitastā (Jhelum), the Asiknī (Chenab), the Paruṣṇī (Ravi), the Vipāśā (Beas) and the Śutudri (Sutlej). For this reason this territory was called *Sapta-Sindhu* or the land of the seven rivers. Wijesekera has also identified the standing figure on the top corner and the half-kneeling figure. To quote him. 'it may seem only natural to find in the half-kneeling female figure just above the seven the representation of Sarasvatī: ...the figure between the branches of the *pipal* tree in the right extreme of the seal must be the procreant and virile deity (Vṛsan. Vṛṣabha. Śuṣmin. etc.) of the *Ṛgveda*, whose manifold aspects are depicted in the characters of Indra. Varuṇa. Agni. Soma. Pūṣan. Rudra. Parvata. and such other gods'.[6] The standing figure at the top corner cannot be identified as male deity. Marshall has expressed that "the nude deity appearing between the

3. O. H. De A. Wijesekera, "Ṛgvedic River-goddesses and an Indus Valley seal", 1946, Madras, *Kunhan Raja Pres. Vol.*, p. 430.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 437.

5. *Ṛgveda*, VII.36.6.

6. Wijesekera, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

branches is very small and roughly portrayed, but the absence of any evidence of male sex, coupled with the fact that tree deities in India are usually female and that the ministrant figures on this seal also appear to be women, all point to its being a goddess rather than a god".[7] Wijesekera has also pointed out that, 'when Sarasvati is mentioned as separate from and above the seven, the term might rather refer not to the so-called river of the Punjab valley but to the more primitive of waters and floods, ...the counterpart of 'Sarasvan' which too was applied not only to the Mountain as the source of rivers, but also to the Sun floating in the waters of the atmosphere'.[8]

It, however, would be proper to identify the figures standing as well as half-kneeling as the river goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā respectively. It seems quite natural that Indus people were probably aware of Gaṅgā and Yamunā and they perhaps tried to represent them along with the seven rivers of the Punjab. In the Indus valley seals the tree-goddess generally has been shown as standing under a tree within a particular symbol (∩) conventionalised into the form of an arch surrounded by leaves and the river-goddess within the symbol (U).[9] It has already been seen earlier that the water of the atmosphere produced by the rays of the Sun at a particular place in the atmosphere was called Yamunā. This is why Yamunā is also called *'Sūryaputrī'* or the daughter of the Sun. Therefore, it would be more probably to identify the half-kneeling

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7. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

8. Wijesekera, *op. cit.*, p. 435, *Ṛgveda*, 1.164.52; 10.66.5.

9. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 63, Figs. 13, 14, 19.

figure as Yamunā instead of Sarasvatī, when she has already been represented in the lower register of the seal among the seven rivers of the Punjab. The standing figure at the top right corner might be identified with Gaṅgā, symbolising the divine water *'Ap'*. It will not be a far away possibility that the name of the deity is also written on the seal as 'Gaṅgā'.[10]

Both the female figures, which can be presumed to be those of Gaṅgā and Yamunā are represented on this seal in an anthropomorphic form as well as in river form. Gaṅgā stands on its confluence with Yamunā; Yamunā comes in her human form to meet her on the back of a fabulous animal like river horse and pays her regards to Gaṅgā by half-kneeling in front of her. The river form and the fertility aspect are shown by two lines indicating the river and plant with twigs and leaves. It is a very old conception that the divine noumenon had it's abode in the leaves and twigs of sacred trees. The association of the *pipal* tree with the Mother Goddess in India is well known.[11] "In the *Ṛgveda* the vegetation deities, addressed as 'Plants' and called the 'mothers', the goddesses"—which doubtless identifies them with River-Goddesses, are said to have the holy *pipal* (aśvattha) as their home and its foliage as their abode (10.57.4-5).[12]

This seal may be regarded as containing the prototype image of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, as

10. We find two alphabets like Brāhmī *'Ga'*.

11. Wijesekera, *op. cit.*, p. 439; N. M. Chandri, 1 *HQ*, XIX, 4, p. 318; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *QJMS*, XXIX, p. 126.

12. Wijesekera, *op. cit.*, p. 439; *Ṛgveda*, 10.97.4, 5.

the Indus seal containing the figure of Paśupati Śiva is considered to be depicting the proto-type image of Śiva (Fig. 1, 2).

Two Yakṣī figures named Candrā and Sudarśanā (Fig. 3) are carved out on the Bharhut railing pillars. Candrā, a divine lady of rare beauty and modulation, is portrayed on one of the entrance pillars. She stands on a horse-headed *makara,* holding a branch of a tree in the *Śālabhañjikā* pose in one hand and a bunch of flowers in the other. Her *vāhana,* a composite *makara,* makes her a river goddess. Sudarśanā, is carved on the other railing pillar of the Bharhut stūpa. This swaying figure is also carved on her *makara-vāhana.* There are the petals and buds of lotus on top. The figures of Yakṣīs standing on *makara* are also found at Sāñcī and Mathurā. In the opinion of A. K. Coomaraswamy, from these Yakṣī figures the origin of the image of Gaṅgā of the Gupta age can be traced.[13] Catherine Glynn has stated that, 'Images of Gaṅgā are apparent on Buddhist sanctuaries, I propose to establish the proto-type of the standing single figure of Gaṅgā.[14]

Vasudeva Upadhyaya has, however, expressed the view that from these Yakṣīs the origin of the images of Gaṅgā of the Gupta period cannot be traced, because they are depicted on the stūpa railing pillars as the guardians of the door, whereas Gaṅgā and Yamunā have their place in

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13. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yaksha,* 1971, Delhi, Part I, p. 33, 36.

14. Catherine Glynn, "Some Reflections on the origin of the type of Gaṅgā image", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* New Series, Vol. V, p. 20.



Fig. 1

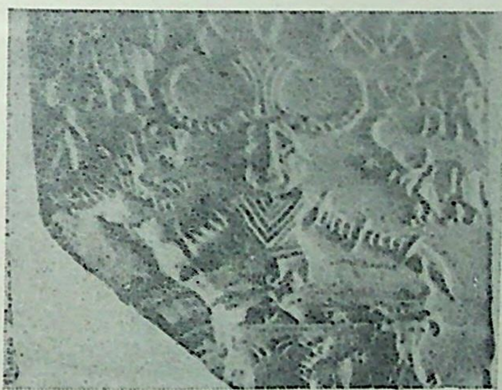


Fig. 2

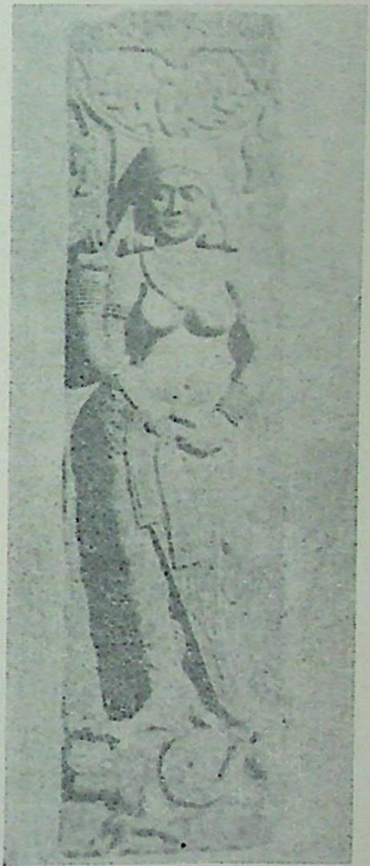


Fig. 3

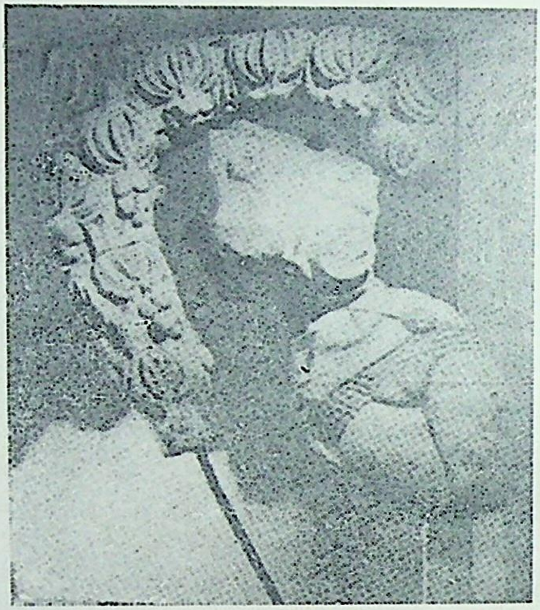


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

the Gupta temple as *Dvāradevatā*. He has shown the probability of Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures being associated with Varuṇa as described in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*.[15] This view does not explain the origin of the image of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, as the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* was written much after the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā came into existence.

Percy Brown has seen in Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures, "an adaptation of the Yakṣiṇī motif (Fig. 4) which festoons the projecting architrave to the Buddhist *toraṇa*, but transmuted in the Gupta temple to suit the Brahmanical texts".[16]

Representation of Gaṅgā on *makara* was available as early as the second century A.D. on a slab at Amarāvatī (Fig. 5). Here two women carrying food and water in a tray and a jug (water-pot) respectively are shown riding their *makara vāhanas* and flanking the *Nāga*.[17]

The sculptures of female figures, found at Mathurā and Amarāvatī (Fig. 6) holding a tray of corn (*śasya*) in a raised hand and water-jar in another, may easily be considered to be the proto-types of Gaṅgā and Yamunā[18] (Fig. 3).

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15. Vasudeva Upadhyaya, *Bhāratīya Kalā meñ Gaṅgā aur Yamunā* (Hindi) (Gaṅgā and Yamunā in Indian Art), Nagri Pracharini Patrika, 1953, Varanasi, p. 503.

16. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, 1965, Bombay, p. 48.

17. C. Sivaramamurti, *Some aspects of Indian Culture*, New Delhi, 1969, p. 18 (See Fig. 5 in this article).

18. See Fig. 7 in this article, *ibid.*, p. 18.

J. N. Banerjee has mentioned that in the Bharhut relief depicting the joy and merriment of the gods after Māra's defeat, the dancing figures of the four *Apsarasas* (Fig. 8), Miśrakeśi, Alambhusā, Subhadrā and Padmāvatī are the proto-types of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā shown on the temple doors of the Gupta and the early medieval periods.[19]

From the evidence at hand it can be easily seen that it took quite some time for the image of Gaṅgā and Yamunā to be associated with the *makara* and the *kūrma* respectively. At Amarāvatī Gaṅgā and Yamunā are depicted standing on *makara* on either side of the slab separated by the figure of a *Nāga* between them. The same vehicle is associated with both Gaṅgā and Yamunā at Ajantā.[20] In Ajantā cave No. XX Gaṅgā stands on *makara*, while another figure, left to the Gaṅgā, is shown on *kūrma*.[21] In Udayagiri caves Nos. III, (Fig. 9) V, VI and IX Gaṅgā and Yamunā have again been shown as standing on the *makara* on either side of the doorway.[22] In cave No. IV at Bagha also we find the representation of Gaṅgā and Yamunā standing on *makara* on either side of the door in niches of the pilaster.[23] Shortly after, the Indian sculptors thought

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19. J. N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1956, Calcutta, p. 353. (See Fig. 8 in this article).

20. C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 18 (See Fig. 5) in this article.

21. O. Viennot, *Les Divinites Fluviales Gaṅgā et Yamunā*, 1964, Paris, p. 32, Plate 14, Fig. a, Ajantā Cave No. XX.

22. See Fig. 9 in this article.

23. P. L. Gupta, *Gupta Sāmrājya*, p. 593.



Fig. 6



Fig 7

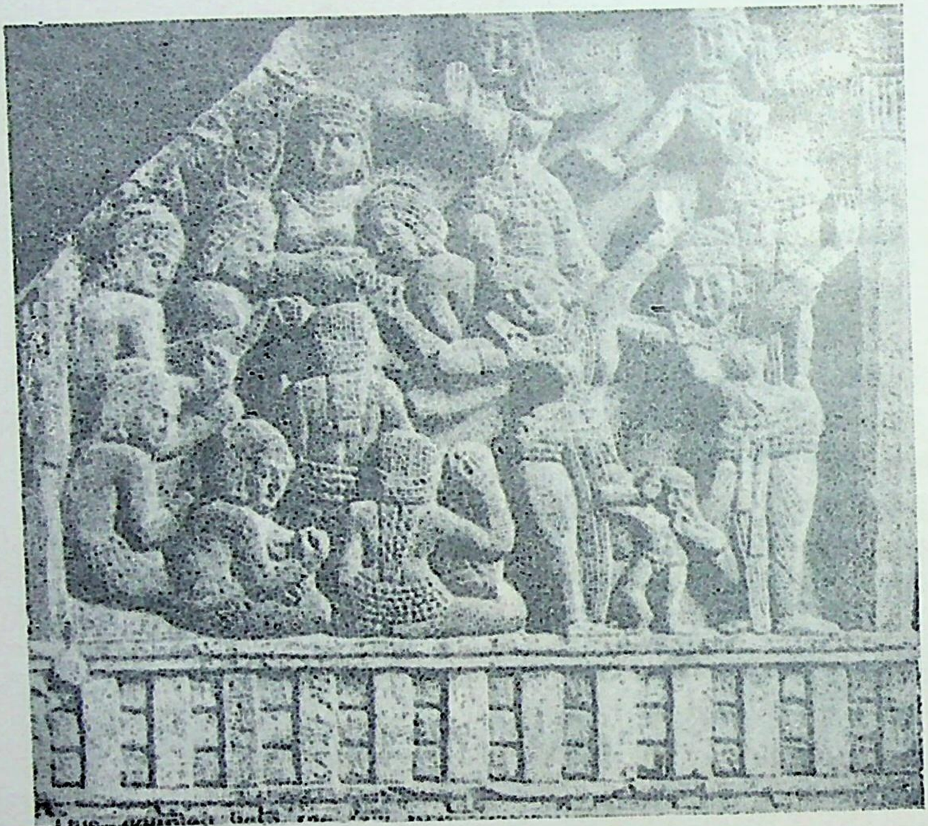


Fig. 8

it fit to impart distinguishing features to their art pieces of the twin rivers. Since Gaṅgā was considered to be a mightier river than Yamunā, she continued to enjoy the privilege of riding over *makara,* one of the mightiest of creatures in water. But by now Yamunā too was given a vehicle of her own, a *kūrma,* which though not so mighty as the *makara,* was all the same a celebrated creature of the water. The *Varāha* image at Udayagiri contains, for the first time, the plastic representation of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their separate vehicles, *makara* and *kūrma* respectively.[24] The association of Gaṅgā and Yamunā with *makara* and *kūrma* respectively, sank deep into the minds of the artists, so much so that it is difficult to find sculptures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, without their respective vehicles in medieval art.[25] Gaṅgā and Yamunā, both in their river and deity forms, flank the *Varāha* image of Udayagiri. Here, in the reign of Chandragupta II, both of the river deities are seen for the first time on their respective *Vāhanas, makara* and *kūrma* (Fig. 10, 11).

After what has been said so far about Gaṅgā and Yamunā, it is tempting to suggest that the seal unearthed by Mackay in 1927 at Mohenjodaro contains the proto-type form of the images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā of later period.[26] In the popular belief the very sight of Gaṅgā is to be considered auspicious. It was for this reason that Gaṅgā had

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24. V. S. Agrawala, *Gupta-Art,* p. 7, see Pl.

25. In few cases, we do not find *Vāhanas* the *makara* and the *kūrma.*

26. Sudhakar Pandey, *Gaṅgā and Yamunā in Sanskrit Literature and Art,* 1973, Panjab University, Chandigarh.

her proto-type *Sudarśanā-Yakṣī* standing on *makara*, sculptured on the Bharhut railing pillars. On the railing pillars of the same *stūpa* is sculptured *Candrā Yakṣī* standing on the horse-headed *makara* holding a branch of a tree. This figure could be taken to be the fore-runner of Yamunā on *makara* of the later times. This horse-headed *makara* reminds of the strange animal portrayed on the Mohenjodaro seal discussed earlier. Thus, this can be presumed that originating at Mohenjodaro the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā underwent a gradual transformation in the course of time. The figures of Sudarśanā and Candrā Yakṣī at Bharhut seem to have played an important part of this transformation.

On a pillar in Sāñcī Stūpa No. II, a woman is standing in the centre on the *padma*, she is holding a stem of flower in her left hand and is resting the right hand on her hip. This deity is difficult to identify, though it is probable that she is *Śrī-Bhūdevī*. However, this deity is, flanked by two standing female figures on either side. The figure on the left side holds a tray in her left hand near the shoulder and her right hand is hidden on the side of the central deity. The other figure on the right side holds a water-jar in her right hand and a *Cāmara* in her left hand (Fig. 12). Beneath these deities are sculptured two lotus-creepers emerging out of the jaws of a *makara* in each case (Fig. 13). The association of the tray (full of Śasya) with one female deity and the water-jar and *Cāmara* with the other may suggest their identification with Gaṅgā and Yamunā respectively. The portrayal of these figures seems to have influenced the artists to sculpture the twin rivers in association with the *makara*, the tray and the *pūrṇa-kumbha* at Amarāvatī.

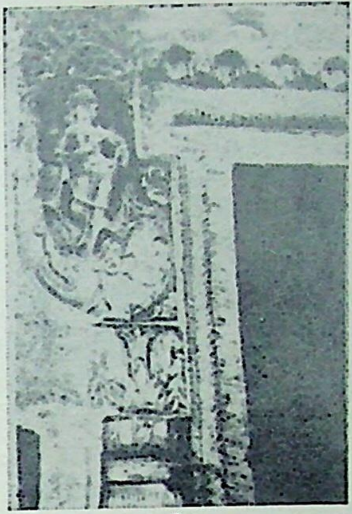


Fig. 9

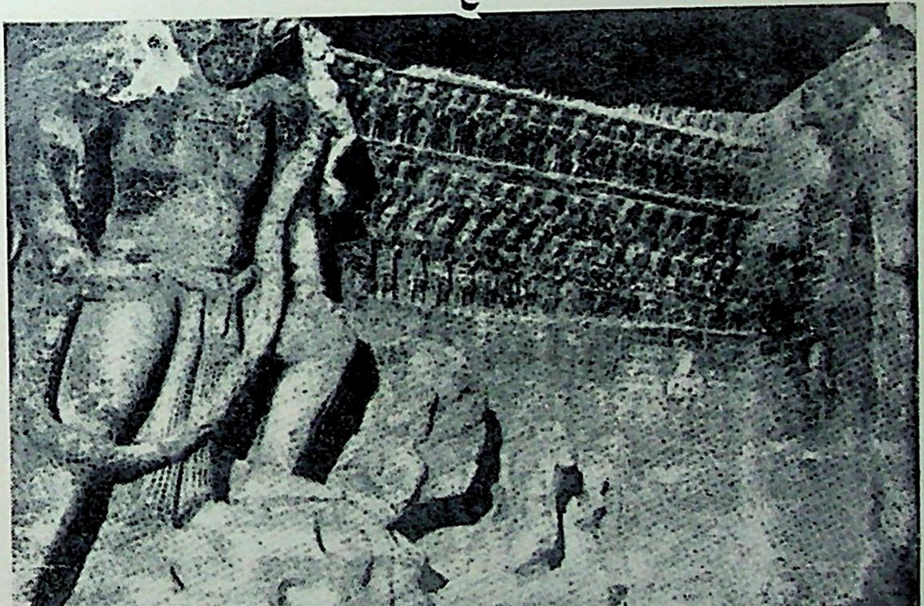


Fig. 10

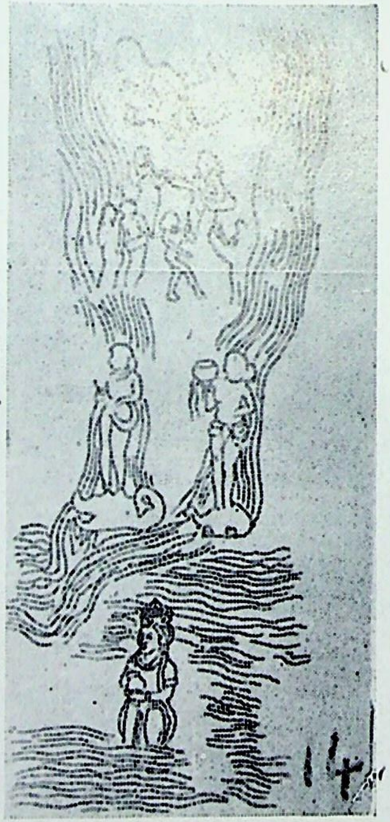


Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

Illustrations

GṚHAPATI–ŚIVA, A RELIEF IN BHARAT KALA BHAVAN

LALIT KUMAR

Ahmedabad

The present panel in Bhārata Kalā Bhavan, ascribed to 10th century A.D., depicts the bathing scene of *Vīreśvara liṅga* and the birth of *Gṛhapati* as the son of *Śucimati* in elaborate style. *Gṛhapati* or Lord of the House is the minor manifestation of *Śiva*. The panel, markedly different from other Eastern Indian bas-reliefs, does not depict *Gaṇeśa* or *Brahmā* or *Navagṛha*, normally showed to ward off evil spirits at auspicious occasions.

A number of bas-reliefs of 'mother and child' have been reported from Eastern India. In such reliefs a female figure is generally shown lying on a bedstead with a child which dominates the scene. She is flanked by female attendants holding flywisk, fan or depicted as massaging the feet of the mother. Sometimes a few utensils are seen under the couch. A lamp may also be seen in some reliefs. Besides, the relief has also attributed with figures of *Gaṇeśa* and *Brahmā* or one of them; while on a few instances *navagṛha* have also been carved in the upper part of the panel.[1] However, in

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1. Stella Kramrisch, *Manifestation of Śiva*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1981, fig. 68; R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Reprinted, (New Delhi, 1981),

all these reliefs one or two *liṅgas* have been observed which clearly indicates their evident association with the Śaiva religion. But Nagar and Banerji identify them *Yaśodā* and *Kṛṣṇa*[2] or birth of the *Kṛṣṇa*[3] respectively, thus ascribed them as Vaiṣṇava sculpture. Bhattasali calls these reliefs *Sadyojāta* meaning 'a child just born'.[4] The reasons given in support of its identification are not convincing where he refers to a passage of *Brahmapurāṇa* which tells us about the assumption of *Śiva* in the form of a child during his marriage ceremony.[5] It is said that the legend developed with the idea that Śiva lives in every one and borns a fresh in every new child.[6] This idea gave rise to the concept of the minor manifestation of *Śiva* as *Gṛhapati*[7] or the 'lord of the house'.

The story has been mentioned in the canto 10 and 11 of *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*.[8] (The text is

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Plate XLIX, fig. (b) & (c) ; Plate L, fig. (a), (b) & (c) N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum,* Reprinted, 1972, Plate LIII (b) and LIV.

2. A.S.I., A.R., 1909-10, p. 209.

3. R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

4. N. K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

5. *Brahmapurāṇa,* Chapter XXXVII, p. 177, see N. K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138.

6. Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

7. R. D. Trivedi, 'Mother and child sculpture in National Museum, New Delhi', *East & West,* Vol. 24, Nos. 1-2, 1974, p. 124.

8. Vide R. D. Trivedi, *op. cit.*, p. 143.



Fig. 1.

ascribed to the period ca. 6th—9th century A.D.). According to the story *Śucimati,* the wife of a sage, *Viśvanāra,* desired to have a progeny with all attributes of Śiva. *Viśvanāra* thinking her desire difficult to be fulfilled, went to propitiate *Vīreśvara liṅga* at Varanasi. One day a child emerged on the top of the liṅga to be born as the son of *Śucimati.*

Thus worship of *Vīreśvara liṅga* and birth of *Gṛhapati,* as the son of *Śucimati* are the two episodes that might be associated in such narrative relief panels. But the worship of *Vīreśvara liṅga* in most of the reliefs has been carefully eliminated and only the birth of *Gṛhapati* is shown.

In Bharat Kala Bhavan, there is one panel where the aforesaid legend is depicted in slightly elaborate scale.[9] This relief sculpture, carved in buff coloured sand-stone, hails from Banaras. The mediaeval idiom of Central Indian sculptures are quite prominent in the relief and thus it could be ascribed to ca. 10th century A.D. (Fig. 1).

The panel shows mother and child lying on a bedstead, with elephantive legs. One badly damaged figure seated near the feet is seen engaged in massaging. Another female attendant standing near the head, is possibly, holding a fly-wisk. In the upper part of the panel, three different compositions or episodes were arranged following the sequence of the narrative. A fluted liṅga (*dhara* liṅga) is seen flanked by a royal couple. The male figure is holding a staff and the female a sword which she has raised horizontally extending on her back side. They are perhaps guarding the liṅga. In the central composition two figures are seen

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9. The author is thankful to Shri O. P. Tandon, O. S. D. Bharat Kala Bhavan, for the permission to publish this sculpture.

bathing a *caturmukha liṅga* (?) which is placed on a pyramidal base. Next, on the left side, a female figure is seen seated in *bhadrāsana* feeding a child in her left lap. Below the bedstead four musicians are carved. The figures are damaged but it could be observed that one on the right and left side are playing on cymbal and flute respectively ; while two are engaged in playing on drum. The figures of two badly eroded animals could also be observed near the right leg of the bedstead ; but it is difficult to identify them.

The panel of our issue records the moment of the birth of Gṛhapati, when the musicians are seen rejoicing on the music. But just as Eastern Indian reliefs there is no depiction of *Gaṇeśa* or *Brahmā* or the *navagṛha* which are normally depicted to ward off evil spirites at the auspicious moment. The depiction on the upper part of the panel is unconventional. However, it may be suggested that royal couples in the relief may stand for doners and the central bathing scene of *liṅga* represents the popular belief in the faith and worship which could bestow a child to the barren women. The result is shown by a female figure feeding her child.

It may be observed that the present relief shows marked difference and there lies it's uniqueness and is perhaps the solitary example of it's kind reported so far from Banaras where the worship of *Vīreśvara liṅga* has been very popular. The archaeological evidences show a greater number of the reliefs in Eastern India than Banaras and that confirms the popularity of the belief and faith among the people in Bengal.

THE IMPORTANCE AND IDENTIFICATION OF KOTAKULAJA OF THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR INSCRIPTION

R. P. TRIPATHI

Allahabad

The usage of the compound *Kotakulaja* by Hariṣeṇa in *API* is meaningful, and shows the difference of treatment given by Samudragupta to defeated kings. Among the vanquished kings were Nāgasena and Acyuta. The seventh Verse of *API* explains the mystery of the word *Tulyakulaja* by the example of *Kotakulaja* who was only captured. To author, probably Svāmidatta, the ruler of Kottura in South India belonged to the *Kota* family.

Mystery surrounds the origin and identity of *Kotakulaja* mentioned in the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* of Samudragupta. It was suggested by K. P. Jayaswal that *Kotas* were ruling over Pāṭaliputra and Samudragupta seized the city only after defeating them.[1] Mookerji[2] sug-

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1. K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India*, pp. 132-33; *J.B.O.R.S.* XIX, pp. 113, 119.

gests Kosala as their kingdom[2] and Raychaudhari thinks that they occupied the upper Gangetic region.[3] But unfortunately their suggestions are based on insufficient grounds. They, in fact, rely on certain coins which bear the name '*Kota*' and very much resemble with the coins of Srauta known from Sravasti.[4] In this connection it may be pointed out that these coins are reported only from the erstwhile eastern Punjab and Delhi[5] and not even a single specimen of the same is known from Kosala. Moreover, Cunningham believes that these coins formed the copper currency of the Punjab and Rajputana (Rajasthan) between Circa 500 and 800 A.D.[6] and hence they cannot be attributed to *Kotas* mentioned in the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription*.

From the epigraphic point of view the following points deserve attention—

1. The author of the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* mentions Acyuta and Nāgasena by name but refers to *Kotakulaja* by his family name implying that he was the scion of the *Kota* family.[7] This

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2. R. K. Mookerji, *The Gupta Empire,* p. 20.

3. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India.* (seventh edn.), p. 471.

4. *J.R.A.S.,* 1898, p. 449.

5. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum,* Calcutta, I, p. 258.

6. Cf. *Ibid.*

7. Fleet, *C. I. I.,* III, p. 12; *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* (API), lines 13-14; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* vol. I, second edn., pp. 263f.

naturally invites a probe into the circumstances of such a deviation. For a general reader it may appear that the name of the King of the *Kotas* perhaps did not fit into the poetic composition and therefore Hariṣeṇa preferred to give his name as *Kotakulaja* on account of metrical considerations.[8] But to us it appears to be a deliberate attempt on the part of the author to unravel the mystery created in the preceding verse (no. 4) by his poetic excellence. For instance, first, he refers to the fateful event of Samudragupta's accession to the throne which caused happiness to the courtiers but resulted in discomfiture to those who belonged to the ruling families and were of equal rank to the Guptas (*tulyakulaja*).[9] Thereafter he adds that some of them sought the protection of Samudragupta and some were defeated by his valour in battles.[10] To name a few. Acyuta and Nāgasena were uprooted by the prowess of his arms and *Kotakulaja* was only captured.[11] The suspense which was created by the great poet with the help of pun was taken by the Scholars as real and thus the purpose of its author was partly fulfilled. The seventh verse enumerates two categories of Kings defeated by Samudragupta. In the first,

8. Cf. S. R. Goyal, *Prācīna Bhārata kā Rājanītika Itihāsa*, Allahabad, 1969, p. 106.

9. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 6 ; Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 263, lines 7-8.

10. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 12, lines 9-11.

11. *Ibid.*, lines 13-14.

he mentions the names of some kings who were vanquished by him in battles; in the second he mentions *Kotakulaja* to illustrate those kings, who were simply captured. In order to explain the position of a *tulyakulaja,* the author cited the instance of *Kotakulaja.* Obviously this verse was detached from its context and this led to the presumption that there were two campaigns of Samudragupta in Āryāvarta.[12] It is really unfortunate that the suspense supposed to linger only for a couple of minutes has persisted for about a hundred years and has been baffling the scholars. The importance of the 7th verse lies in the fact that it explains the mystery of the word *tulyakulaja* by illustrating the same with the example of *Kotakulaja.*[13]

2. The *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* obviously differentiates between the treatment meted out to

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12. H. Heras, *A.B.O.R.I.,* IX, pp. 88-90.

According to Raychaudhuri (*PHAI,* p. 471 footnote 2) the two campaign theory, advocated by Father Heras, "involves the assumption that Achyuta and Nāgasena were 'violently exterminated' in the second campaign after being 'uprooted' in the first. To obviate the difficulty he takes 'uprooted' to mean 'defeated' which is unconvincing". In fact, the plea of father Heras is inadmissible in the light of some recent observations (R. P. Tripathi, *Studies in Political and Socio-Economic History of Early India,* Allahabad, 1981, pp. 12-13).

13. For a detailed discussion see R. P. Tripathi, *op. cit.,* pp. 11-12, "The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta—A Fresh Approach".

Kotakulaja on the one hand and Acyuta and Nāgasena on the other. Here we are reminded of the policy of *grahaṇa* (capturing of the enemy) and *unmūlana* (extermination) of the ruling princes by a Conquerer–*grahaṇa* in the case of *Kotakulaja* and *Unmūlana* in the cases of Acyuta and Nāgasena.[14] It is significant to note that the record in question speaks of the extermination of the nine kings of Āryāvarta including Acyuta and Nāgasena in a subsequent line.[15] It mentions twelve kings of South India who were governed by the policy of *grahaṇa* and *mokṣa,* i. e. capture and liberation.[16] This may suggest that *Kotakulaja* was one of the twelve kings of South India, covered by the policy of *grahaṇa ;* in the same way Acyuta and Nāgasena were the kings of Āryāvarta, covered by the policy of extermination (*unmūlana*).[17]

3. If this assumption is correct, we are faced with another difficult question as to who was the prince of the *Kota* family among the twelve kings of

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14. *A.P.I.,* lines 13-14.

Sohani suggests that the verse refers to the liberation of *Kotakulaja* and not to his capture (*A.B.O.R.I.,* 39, p. 41).

15. *A.P.I.,* line 21.

16. *A.P.I.,* lines 19-20.

17. Since the purpose of the seventh verse is not to describe the military exploits of Samudragupta in detail, the author appears to have picked up only a few names representing two main categories of Kings ruling in Āryāvarta and Dakṣiṇāpatha.

South India, mentioned in the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription?* The kingdoms of Kosala, Mahakantara, Kaurala, Pishtapura, Erandapalla, Kanchi, Avamukta, Vengi, Palakka, Devarashtra and Kusthalapura do not appear to have any connection with the *Kotas*. However, the kingdom of Kottura may be associated with the *Kotas* and it was named as such after the name of the *Kota* tribe. Thus there is a strong possibility that Svāmīdatta, the ruler of Kottura belonged to the *Kota* family. The king referred to as *Kotakulaja* in the 7th verse is an illustrative of *Dakṣiṇāpatha* category of kings in the same manner as Acyuta and Nāgasena are suggestive of *Āryāvarta* category.

In view of the aforesaid position, it may be said that the formation of the compound *'Kotakulaja'* was deliberate and purposeful. It helps in explaining *'tulyakulaja'* which has been interpreted otherwise in the absence of an example in case. *Kotakulaja* most probably belonged to South India and not to North as is commonly supposed.

ANACHRONISMS IN THE RAGHUVAṂŚA

DR. A. N. PANDEY
Varanasi

The author in this paper has tried to discuss the main aspects of the problem of anachronism in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*.

Anachronism means 'an error in chronology ; esp. a chronological misplacing of persons, events, objects or customs in regard to each other'. In Kālidāsa's works, misplacing of persons, etc. is found. Here I have tried to show such errors in the *Raghuvaṃśa*.

In the fourth canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, we find historical references which do not belong to the relevant period. Raghu started via land-route to conquer Pārasīkas.[1] It is supposed that the Pārasīkas are the ancient Persians. The Pārasīkas are not mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Two inscriptions of Darius (522—486 B.C.) dated between 518 and 515 B.C. mention Hindu as a part of his domination.[2] The rise of the Sassanian dynasty (3rd century A.D.) of

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1. पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना ।
इन्द्रियाख्यानिव रिपूंस्तत्त्वज्ञानेन संयमी ॥
Raghu., 4/60

2. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 97.

Persia caused the decline of the Kuṣāṇa power in the north-west. Thus the conquest of the Pārasīkas by Raghu cannot be said to be an historical event. By placing Pārasīkas in the time of Raghu Kālidāsa commits anachronism.

The next reference is to Yavana-women.[3] A slight skirmish with the Yavanas seems to have taken place. The term Yavana was applied by the Hindus to the Ionians or Greeks of Bactria and Panjab.[4] It may be said that the people of Uttarāpatha had knowledge of the Greeks as early as the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. We find the word Yauna[5] in the records of Darius I, which was borrowed by the Indians (*Mahābhārata*, xii, 207.43). Alexander conquered north-western India in 327-325 B.C. and founded cities like Alexandria, Sogdian Alexandria, etc.[6] Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (A.D. 106-130), the Sātavāhana king inflicted crushing defeat on the Śakas, the Yavanas (Greeks) and the Pahlavas (Parthians).[7] The territories of these Yavanas were probably not far from Kathiawar and Malwa, the northern provinces of the dominion of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.[8] Kālidāsa probably refers to this

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3. यवनीमुखपद्मानां सेहे मधुमदं न सः ।
बालातपमिवाब्जानामकालजलदोदयः ॥

Raghu., 4/61

4. "The word Yavana was derived from the old Persian form Yauna, denoting Ionian Greek in the beginning, but later, all people of Greek nationality."

—*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 101

5. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 101-102.

7. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 134.

8. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 119.

principality of the Yavanas in the context of Raghu-dig-vijaya.[9] So this is a case of anachronism.

Thereafter Raghu reached the Oxus, where a fight with the Hūṇas took place.[10] The sixty-seventh verse of the fourth canto reads as follows—

विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धाल्लंग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान् ॥

"His horses which loosened their fatigues of the road by turning from side to side on the banks of the river Sindhu, shook their shoulders to which were clung the filaments of saffron".—Trans. by Nandargikar.

We find the reading वंक्षुतीरविचेष्टनैः in place of सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः . The Vaṅkṣu is the river Oxus.[11] The Hūṇa

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9. *Ibid.*

10. तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥

Raghu., 4/68

11. "It is very likely that the correct reading is Vaṅkṣu. This is usually identified with the river Oxus. The Vaṅkṣu is not the Oxus, however, but is the name of one of the many tributaries which pour their tributes of water into the Oxus to make it the greater river. Among four such upper reaches of the Oxus, there are two Wakshab and Akshab, between which lay Khuttal, as it is called by Arab geographers, but Haytal by the ancient Persians, from which the name Ephathalites was given to the later Huns. The Wakshab of the Arabs is apparently the Vaṅkṣu referred to by Kālidāsa, by far the greatest tributary of the Oxus."

—S. K. Aiyangar, "The Hun Problem in Indian History", *Indian Antiquary*, 1919

country was located in the Doab of the modern Waksh and the Akṣu, the two tributaries of the Oxus.[12] The Hūṇas were a barbarian race and had spread in the fifth century A.D. over some of the fairest provinces of the Roman empire and the Gupta empire in India.[13] Kumāragupta suffered a defeat at the hands of the Hūṇas, but his son Skandagupta inflicted a crushing defeat on the barbarians about 455 A.D. The Hūṇas rose again about 465 A.D. and occupied the Gandhāra and the north-western Panjab. Under the successors of Skandagupta, the Hūṇas continued their advance, but they were ultimately defeated some years before 533 A.D. by Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya and Yaśodharman of Malwa.[14]

Mirashi says, "Kālidāsa must have written his verses about the Hūṇas shortly after A.D. 450, the date of the establishment of Hūṇa empire in the Oxus Basin, but before A.D. 455-56, the date of Girnar rock inscription which records their defeat by Skandagupta".[15]

Thus by placing the Hūṇas in the time of Raghu, Kālidāsa commits anachronism.

Then Raghu attacked the Kāmbojas, who bowed down to him.[16] Sir Grierson thinks that the Kāmbojas

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12. Jayachandra, "Raghu's Line of Conquest along India's Northern Border", Proc. Sixth *AIOC* Patna (1930).

13. R. C. Majumdar and others, *An Advanced History of India,* p. 153.

14. S. K. Aiyangar, *ibid.*

15. *Kālidāsa,* p. 18.

16. काम्बोजाः समरे सोढुं तस्य वीर्यमनीश्वराः ।
गजालानपरिक्लिष्टैरक्षोटैः सार्धमागताः ॥

Raghu., 4/69

represent an Iranian country.[17] Rhys Davids places the Kāmbojas to the extreme north-west of India, S. K. Aiyangar in a country near Sind, Raychaudhuri in the Rawalpindi and Peshawar districts, Smith along the mountains of Tibet or Hindu Kush.[18] Jayachandra says that the modern Kāmboja is the modern Ghalcha territory which is right to the north of Kashmir. The western boundary of Kāmboja abutted upon the confines of Bactria.[19]

R. D. Karmarkar observes that the Kamboja was not an independent kingdom during the Gupta period and that the description of Kālidāsa fits in more with the position existing about the first century B.C.[20] Here reference to the Kāmbojas in the *Raghu-digvijaya* is anachronistic, as the condition of the Kāmbojas described here cannot be assigned to the relevant period.

Kāmarūpa is also referred to in the *Raghu-digvijaya*.[21] Reference to Kāmarūpa is not found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The first datable reference to Kāmarūpa occurs in the *Allahabad Pillar Inscription* of Samudragupta. Therefore, mention of Kāmarūpa in Raghu's conquests is a chronological error.

The conquests[22] of the Pāṇḍyas, Kerala, Aparānta, etc. seem to be anachronistic, because it was Rāma, who,

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17. Jayachandra, *ibid.*
18. *The Vedic Age* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), p. 264.
19. Jayachandra, *ibid.*
20. *Kālidāsa*, p. 142.
21. तमीशः कामरूपाणामत्याखण्डलविक्रमम् ।
 भेजे भिन्नकटैर्नागैरन्यानुपरुरोध यैः ॥

 Raghu., 4/83
22. *Ibid.*, 4/49/59.

with great difficulty, succeeded in establishing his sway over the South.

It is observed that Kālidāsa is indebted to the *dig-vijayas* of Vatsarāja (*Kathāsaritsāgar*) and Samudragupta and also to Puṣyamitra's conquests.[23] In fine, it may be said that the description of *Raghu-digvijaya* does not belong to the relevant period. S. K. Aiyangar rightly remarked. "He may equip himself with such historical information as may be available to him and try to project the political condition of the age of his hero, or he may just project anachronistically the political condition of his own age".[24]

In the description of Indumatī-svayaṃvara we find mention of Puṣpapura,[25] Mahākāla,[26] Mathurā,[27] Vṛndā-vana[28] and Uragapura.[29]

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23. R. D. Karmarkar, *ibid.*, pp. 138-142.

24. S. K. Aiyangar, *ibid.*

25. अनेन चेदिच्छसि गृह्यमाणं पाणिं वरेण्येन कुरु प्रवेशे ।
प्रासादवातायनसंश्रितानां नेत्रोत्सवं पुष्पपुराङ्गनानाम् ॥
Raghu., 6/24

26. असौ महाकालनिकेतनस्य वसन्नदूरे खलु चन्द्रमौलेः ।
तमिस्रपक्षेऽपि सह प्रियाभिर्ज्योत्स्नावतो निर्विशति प्रदोषान् ।
–*Ibid.*, 6/34

27. यस्यावरोधस्तनचन्दनानां प्रक्षालनाद् वारिविहारकाले ।
कलिन्दकन्या मथुरां गतापि गङ्गोर्मिसंसक्तजलेव भाति ॥
–*Ibid.*, 6/48

28. सम्भाव्य भर्तारममुं युवानं मृदुप्रवालोत्तरपुष्पशय्ये ।
वृन्दावने चैत्ररथादनूने निर्विश्यतां सुन्दरि यौवनश्रीः ॥
–*Ibid.*, 6/50

29. अथोरगाख्यस्य पुरस्य नाथं दौवारिकी देवसरूपमेत्य ।
इतश्चकोराक्षि विलोकयेति पूर्वानुशिष्टां निजगाद भोज्याम् ॥
–*Ibid.*, 6/59

Puṣpapura is identified with Pāṭaliputra. Ajātaśatru died about 475 B.C. and Udayabhadra (Udāyi) succeeded to the throne of Magadha.[30] He left Champā and founded the city Kusumapura (Puṣpapura). The city was made new capital of the Magadha kingdom. Here reference to Puṣpapura is anachronistic, because in the relevant period it was not the capital of Magadha.

Mahākāla is mentioned as one of the twelve jyotirliṅgas in the *Śiva Purāṇa*.[31] Mahākāla is referred to as a tīrtha in the *Mahābhārata*,[32] but it is not the jyotirliṅga. So reference to Mahākāla in the relevant period cannot be justified.

Mallinātha comments on Mathurā—"कालिन्दीतीरे मथुरा लवणासुरवधकाले शत्रुघ्नेन निर्मास्यत इति वक्ष्यति। तत्कथमधुना मथुरासम्भव इति चिन्त्यम्।"
Lavaṇāsura was killed by Śatrughna. Śatrughna founded Mathurā to commemorate this event. Therefore, reference to Mathurā on the occasion of Indumatī-svayaṃvara is a chronological error.

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30. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 196.

31. सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनम्।
उज्जयिन्यां महाकालमोङ्कारे परमेश्वरम्॥
केदारं हिमवत्पृष्ठे डाकिन्यां भीमशङ्करम्।
वाराणस्यां च विश्वेशं त्र्यम्बकं गौतमीतटे॥
वैद्यनाथं चिताभूमौ नागेशं दारुकावने।
सेतुबन्धे च रामेशं घुश्मेशं च शिवालये॥
द्वादशैतानि नामानि प्रातरुत्थाय यः पठेत्।
सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तः सर्वसिद्धिफलं लभेत्॥
—*Śiva Purāṇa*, 4.1.21-24

32. महाकालं ततो गच्छेन्नियतो नियताशनः।
कोटितीर्थमुपस्पृश्य हयमेधफलं लभेत्॥
—*Āraṇyaka Parvan*, 80/68

As to the importance of Vṛndāvana, it may be said that it is purāṇic event, so this description is anachronistic.

Uragapura is Uraiyur or Trichinopoly. It was the capital of the Pāṇḍyas in the sixth century A.D.[33] According to Mallinātha, Uragapura is Nāgapura, but it seems that the commentator gives only synonym of the word. Nāgapura of Mallinātha is Nagapatam on the river Kānyakubja (Coleroon). In the South, three dynastics were important, namely, Chola, Pāṇḍya and Chera. From the literary evidence it appears that the ascendancy of the Cholas continued up to the first century A.D. Thereafter it passed on to the Pāṇḍya and Chera dynasties.[34] Kālidāsa probably refers to Uragapura of the period after the first century A.D. Therefore, mention of Uragapura is anachronistic.

We find anachronisms of concepts also. In the context of *Raghu-Kautsa-saṃvāda* fourteen vidyās are referred to.[35] The Vedas and the Vedāṅgas were studied in the Vedic Age. A long list of subjects of study is found in the *Chhāndogya-Upaniṣad* (7/1), but fourteen vidyās are not mentioned. In the *Arthaśāstra* (1/2) four vidyās are mentioned— आन्वीक्षिकी, त्रयी, वार्ता and दण्डनीति . In the

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33. According to Raychaudhuri, the city Uragapura sometimes belonged to the Chola and sometimes to the Pāṇḍya Kingdom.

—D. C. Sircar, *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Note, p. 246

34. R. C. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 137.

35. निर्बन्धसञ्जातरुषार्थकार्श्यमचिन्तयित्वा गुरुणाऽहमुक्तः ।
वित्तस्य विद्यापरिसङ्ख्यया मे कोटीश्चतस्रो दश चाहरेति ॥
Raghu., 5/21

Viṣṇu Purāṇa we find mention of fourteen vidyās.[36] The concept of fourteen vidyās probably belongs to the Purāṇic period. Thus this reference is anachronistic.

Reference to eighteen dvīpas is found in the description of *Indumatī-svayaṃvara*.[37] Śrīharṣa also mentions eighteen dvīpas.[38] That the earth consisted of four dvīpas is a most ancient concept. The names of four dvīpas are Uttarakuru, Bhadrāśva, Ketumālā and Jambūdvīpa (*Harivaṃśa*, 143.2.88; 1b8.2.15). Later on, the theory was revised and the seven continent theory was adopted—saptadvīpa vasumatī. The *Agni Purāṇa* gives the names of seven dvīpas as follows—Jambu, Plakṣa, Śālmali, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śāka and Puṣkara.[39] The concept of eighteen dvīpas does not belong to the period of Raghu and Aja. So reference to them is anachronistic.

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36. अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः ।
पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश ॥
3/6/28

37. *Raghu.*, 6/38.

38. *Naiṣadha.*, 1/5.

39. जम्बुप्लक्षाह्वयो द्वीपो शाल्मलिश्चापरो महान् ।
कुशः क्रौञ्चस्तथा शाकः पुष्करश्चैव सप्तमः ॥
—*Agni Purāṇa*, 108/1-3

ĀNDHRA CULTURE AS DEPICTED IN THE CĀTURĪCANDRIKĀBHĀṆA OF VEṄKAṬĀRYA

Dr. K. V. Venkateswara Rao
Waltair

Bhāṇa, one of the ten *rūpakas,* mentioned by Bharata, is a monologue type of one-act play. In this article, the author depicts the Āndhra Culture as reflected in the *Cāturī-Candrikābhāṇa* of Veṅkaṭārya which was staged at the time of the *Caitra* festival of Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara of Tirupati.

The *Cāturīcandrikābhāṇa*[1] of Veṅkaṭārya is a unique monologue type of minor drama which reveals a good number of social conditions as well as the native cultural elements. He was the son of Śaraṇyapāda,[2] (a disciple of Raṅgavarya) and Saraswatī. He was probably a resident of Tirupati, Āndhra Pradesh.[3] His date however is not known.

The scene of the play is Tirupati, the holy place of Lord Veṅkaṭeśwara, which is called in the prologue as Kalyāṇanagarī.[4] It is said to have been enacted on the

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1. Transcript No. R 1646 of Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

2. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature.* Page 705, Line (Top to bottom) No. II.

3. *Ibid.,* fn.

4. Page 2, line 1 to page 4, line 20.

occasion of the Caitra festival of Veṅkaṭādrināyaka on which occasion many pilgrims from all parts of the country gathered. From the account given in the prologue, we come to know that the play was firstly staged at Śrīraṅgapura. This shows that the poet was connected with both the temples and was famous as a poet in both the places.

The main character Caturaśekhara is introduced very skillfully by the poet. The Sūtradhāra describes Mālatī and Parabhṛta[5] and a voice from behind the cutrain says that why not the words of Camatkāramañjarī and Caturaśekhara be substituted. Caturaśekhara starts out at dawn through the streets of the courtesans and describes their love intrigues. He was invited for the first Stage Performance of Camatkāramañjarī. On his way to the venue he comes across several interesting things in the streets of Tirupati buzzing with the celebrations of the Caitra festival. He goes on describing them. In these descriptions we get glimpses of contemporary Āndhra life, their recreations, temple rites and the ways of the people who are collected there from various parts of the country.

In the olden days, rich people used to engage courtesans as concubines signing a contract in the presence of some witnesses. Viṭa writes a bond to accept Camatkāramañjarī for an year.[6] There the names of the copyist, supporter and acceptors[7] are given. The term used for a concubine is *Līlākalatra* 'a pleasure wife'. It is interesting

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5. Page 8, line 16.

6. Page 66, line 5.

7. Page 66, line 16.

to note that a penalty is also mentioned for the breach of the contract imposing double the amount of contract.[8]

The mothers used to dominate in the affairs of the clients of their daughters. They were the sole monarchs and their daughters had to follow the orders of their mothers. No freedom existed.

Though they had to abide by the contract, often these contracts are not honoured strictly and in the absence of their lovers they used to entertain other clients also for money.[9]

The institution of concubinage, it seems to have been meant for the development of the fine arts. But, later it is corrupted.

Through the description of the courtesans we know that they are patronised by very rich people and have thus grown very rich themselves.[10] They are offered hundred costly pānas a day with all spicy ingredients like musk.[11]

This Bhāṇa, as it is already said in the beginning, was enacetd at the time of the Caitra festival of Lord Śrī Veṅkaṭeśwara of Tirupati, Āndhra Pradesh. The Caitra festival has very great significance in the Bhāṇa literature as most of the Bhāṇas enacted at the time of Caitra festival of some god or deity. These Caitra festivals or spring festivals were attended by so many people especially by courtesans from different quarters of the country.[12] In

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8. Page 66, line 10.
9. Page 45, line 9. (Episode of Cūtalatā and Rasakovida).
10. Page 17, line 15.
11. Page 22, line 19.
12. Page 32, line 3.

F. 24

this Bhāṇa, through the conversation between the Viṭa and Candanalatā it is known that she came from Kāñcī to Tirupati to see the Caitra festival.[13]

Bālabhogotsava[14] is a festival which is performed to Lord Veṅkaṭeśwara. Generally *Bālabhoga* means 'distribution of something mixed with sweet to the boys or bachelors'. But here *Bālabhogotsava* means 'offering of light dishes and sweet meats to Veṅkaṭeśwara'. It is a daily custom in which *Dadhyodana* (rice with curd), *Cakkrapongali* (sweetened rice) and others are offered to the god. It is offered in the afternoon also which is known as *Rājabhoga*. This reveals the poet's knowledge of all these temple rites. It is also a custom of the temple where at the time of *Bālabhogotsava*, a dance performance by the Devadāsīs attached to the temple is arranged. The courtesans were very proficient in arts like Rangoli,[15] singing, dancing music and others. They were freely allowed into the temples for decorating the stage for the occasional programmes. The temple decorations like Rangoli for the festivities were done by accomplished courtesans. They composed stanzas with pun.[16]

The custom of blowing the Conch[17] and ringing the bell at the time of *Bālabhogotsava* is also known from this Bhāṇa. Both blowing of the conch and ringing of the bell in the temples at regular timings were resorted to for announcing the time for all. These are also used to indicate the

13. Page 21, line 12.
14. Page 30, line 10.
15. Page 29.
16. Page 46, line 17.
17. Page 42, line 17.

fact that the afternoon offerings to the Lord are made. Certain devoted Brahmins and kings used to take their meal only after hearing this bell.

Viṭa identifies all the gods situated at Śrīraṅga, Kāñcī and Puruṣottama and other places with Śrī Veṅkaṭeśwara of Tirupati[18] and praises him in many stanzas and in a Daṇḍaka.

People from different parts of the country are described to have attended the festival of Lord Veṅkaṭeśwara and peculiar modes of their dress and so are described. Ladies who adorned the *Sabhā* with their presence are those who came from Kashmir, Sind. Nepal and other places.[19] Madhwa ladies decorated their braid with the Ketakī flowers, wore an upper garment on their Jackets.[20] A lady from Kashmir is described to have applied saffron on her breasts.[21]

Entertainments and other cultural activities of Āndhra Pradesh are described in this Bhāṇa. The cock fight in[22] the Navamālikā junction is picturesque. These cock fights according to the Āndhra *Vijñānasarvasva*[23] are prevalent in our country for over thousand years now. Now, that spot where the fights existed there it is known as 'Kodipaṇḍāla garuvu[24] "the place of cock fights" in Telugu language.

18. Page 34, line 4.

19. Page 62, line 16.

20. Page 31, line 3.

21. Page 32, line 3.

22. Page 37, line 14.

23. Page 24, line 41 of Vol. 3.

24. Page 24, line 38 of Vol. 3.

These cock fights existed not only in Southern India but in other peninsulas like Jawa and Sumatra. This was described in their account by the foreign travellers too in 15th century A.D.[25] In some places these cock fights led to great battles. Cock fight was one of the prime causes for the great war of Palanāḍu.[26]

In this interesting fight, the owners of the cocks tie a small but sharp knife to the foot of the cock and bet something for on the same.[27] In each and every fight like this only one cock survives in the last. The winner's owner along with the promised award takes the dead cock also with him as per the rules.

The institution of *Vipravinodins*[28] 'Brahmin entertainers who entertain brahmins' was remarkable in those days. They practised Indrajāla i.e. mesmarism and performed the same before Brahmins and other high class people in the society. They were different from those who entertained all and performed the same in the junctions and road sides. Generally *Vipravinodins* used to earn more. In fact, both were of same category because they practised this for their livelihood.

The description of the *Vipravinodins* by the poet to have "सुरभिचन्दनपुण्ड्र भास्वल्ललाटाः कलरवपूरितदिक्कूटाः....[29] indicates their make up in performing magic deeds.

25. Page 25, line 3 of Vol. 3.
26. Page 25, line 10 of Vol. 3.
27. Page 37, line 14.
28. Page 38, line 16.
29. Page 38, line 17.

Viṭa is surprised at their greatness in their art in which they turned a grass to a great mountain and vice versa. He produced coins out of lead (Tagaraṁ) and gold. Viṭa is told by the *Vipravinodins* that they are able to do this by *Hastalāghava* (deftness of land).[30]

The bull entertainment[31] existed in those days which is exclusively of the Telugu country. In the months of harvest, a few people decorate a healthy bull and roam from house to house performing various feats by the bull. Generally two persons accompany the bull between which one sounds the drum and the other plays the Nādasvara while collecting the rice and cloths, given by the residents. Here in this Bhāṇa the bull has beautiful face on account of turmeric (yellow) dust applied on his face. is shinning with coloured cloths tied around his hump, with the bell hung to his neck and with peacock feathers tied to his horn is dancing very nicely.[32]

The introduction of snake charmers[33] in the Bhāṇa is also a point to be observed. The snake charmers make the cobras dance by playing the flute and beg for alms. Children residing in villages and towns admire this entertainment to its maximdm extent.

Scents and other spicy ingredients used by the people have mention in this work.

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30. Page 38.

31. Page 39, line 5.

32. Page 39.

33. Page 39, line 19.

Sandalwood paste was used as a means of remedy for the heat by the ladies[34] and gents. This was used by the ladies and gents in the events of separation to get rid off the heat and also as luxurious, auspicious scented paste which is given in marriages and other auspicious festivals.

Kastūrī was used in *pāna* along with other scented ingredients.[35] A costly one like this was used by the courtesans lavishly. A client who wanted to have a courtesan of a high repute had to give to her mother hundred *pānas* daily mixed with musk and other spicy ingredients along with other things promised.[36] Musk was also used as a *Tilaka* by the ladies.

Camphor was used by the ladies in the *pāna* to attain coolness.[37] Viṭa sees some ladies in the afternoon who enjoy while being on the terraces of their palaces. The mention of fountains *Salilayantras*'[38] is a point to be noted.

Parrots[39] and peahens[40] were domesticated by many people. The domesticated parrots learn speaking if they are properly taught and sometimes serve the purpose of a receptionist or a host in the matter of receiving guests.

Many translated Telugu local proverbs[41] and idioms are used in this *Cāturīcandrikābhāṇa* which testify to the

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34. Page 18, line 8.
35. Page 22, line 19.
36. Page 60.
37. Page 42, line 7.
38. Page 42, line 8.
39. Page 47, line 12.
40. Page 61, line 16.
41. Page 29, line 17.

nativity of the poet. The dialogue "भाव, मार्गमवीक्ष्य समायातोऽसि" [42] by Navacandrikā to Viṭa is similar to "Dāri tappi Vaccāva" in Telugu langugage. The answer of Kādambarī to Viṭa " भाव, त्वद्दयया " [43] has a Telugu counterpart as "Edō mī dayavalla" (*bāgāne unnāmu*).

In the letter sent by Rasakaumudī, mother of Camatkāramañjarī to Viṭa she adds in the end as 'विज्ञापनायुतमिदमेव' [44] "Iviye Aneka Śubhalekhārthamulu" i.e. One appeal amounts to thousands of appeals. This is a respectable sentence which is used while writing to honourable persons in Telugu country.

The poet is successful in bringing this Bhāṇa in a chaste style and with good observations of the contemporary social matters.

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42. Page 29, line 17.

43. Page 33, line 5.

44. Page 61.

AN ADDORSED IMAGE OF HARI-BRAHMĀ

DEVENDRA HANDA

Chandigarh

The tradition of the images of composite forms of *Hari-Hara, Ardha-nārīśvara, Pārvatī-Lakṣmī, Hari-Brahmā, Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava, Śiva-Rāma, Kṛṣṇa-Kārttikeya, Śiva-Buddha,* etc. is very old in India. These images speak of the identity of the addorsed gods. Through this paper, we come to know of such an image of *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* of about 10th century A.D., found in the district Sonipata, now stored in the deptt. of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana at Chandigarh.

Examples of composite images revealing multiple aspects of a deity, combining the iconographical characteristics of two or more deities belonging to different sects or cults and those representing the concept of the emergence of multiple forms out of a principal image or *vice versa* are not lacking in Indian plastic art. These syncretistic images indicate a spirit of toleration or animosity and sometimes try to establish the supremacy of a particular deity through its Supreme Form.[1] The largest amongst the composite images, however, are those which represent dual forms

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1. D. C. Bhattacharyya, *Iconology of Composite Images*, Delhi.

combining two male, or one male and one female, or both female deities. Hari-Hara, Ardhanārīśvara and Pārvatī-Lakṣmī are the most well-known examples thereof. Enumerating the example of the first category, Bhattacharya has referred to, described and discussed besides Hari-Hara, the dual forms of Hari-Brahmā, Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava, Śiva-Rāma, Kṛṣṇa-Kārttikeya or Brahmaṇyadeva-Viṣṇu, Śiva-Buddha, Śivalokeśvara, Viṣṇulokeśvara, Sūryalokeśvara, Sūrya-Brahmā, Śiva-Sūrya, Hanubhairava etc.[2] The identity of the first two gods of the Hindu triad is indicated by the following passage of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*.

को भवान् विश्वमर्न्निस्त्वं कर्त्तव्यं किञ्च ते मया ।
एवं ब्रुवाणं वैकुण्ठं प्रत्युवाच पितामहः ।।
यथा भवांस्तथा चाहमादिकर्त्ता प्रजापतिः ।
नारायण समाख्यातः सर्वं वै मयि तिष्ठति ।।[३]

As an example of the composite form of Viṣṇu and Brahmā, Bhattacharyya has described and illustrated an image of the multihanded god seated in *lalitāsana*, bearing a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* on the head which is adorned by *Jaṭājūṭa* also. The god carries a book and a water vessel in his upper right and lower left hands and a conch in the upper left hand. The pedestal shows birds or winged creatures, badly mutilated, two of which may have been swan and Garuḍa, the respective mounts of Brahmā and Viṣṇu.[4] The image belongs to about the tenth century A.D. No other example of the composite form of Viṣṇu and Brahmā is known to us.

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2. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–26.

3. *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (*Vaṅgavāsī* ed.), Ch. XXII vv. 21-22 (as quoted by Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20).

4. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 20, Fig. 13.

A different type of image of Hari-Brahmā, however, has been obtained from Purkhas in district Sonipat. It is an addorsed image now displayed in the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana at Chandigarh.[5] Made of buff sandstone, the extant image measures 60x23cm. Unfortunately all the hands of both the deities are broken. The portion below the knees is also gone as also the halo. Both the deities seem to be standing in contraposto. Viṣṇu on one side (Fig. I.A.) is shown as wearing a high cylindrical crown placed on the curled locks combed backwards. The crown is adorned with a *Kīrtimukha* spewing pearl strings which form ornamental open loops on the front facet of the *mukuṭa*. The side facets show *ardharatna* and *ardhapadma* decor. The god wears *ekāvalī, graiveyaka, patra-kuṇḍalas,* sacred thread, armlet (on the extant part of the left arm), a lower garment secured by a beautiful waist-band the free ends of which after forming loops, fall gracefully on the thighs with floral pendants touching the knees. A multifold sash may also be seen on the thighs. The *vanamālā* consists of three strands of *bakula* flowers on the sides but is twisted like a rope in front where it is bedecked by other floral decorations. Fan-like projections of the coiffure may be seen a little above the back of the ears. The extant portion of the left arms almost to the elbow indicate that the image was originally quadrumanous. The high arched eyebrows, long drawn quasi-closed eyes, slightly mutilated but sharp nose, thick lower lip and plump cheeks betray a beautitudinous expression. A very small part of the nimbus shows that it bore floral and half-diamond patterns. The mutilated part of the *vanamālā* and a slightly mutilated projection on the back slab,

5. Accession No. 1|350.

just at its lower end indicate that the god probably held a conch in his lower left hand.

Brahmā on the other side (Fig. I.B.) bearing a *jaṭājūṭa* on the head wears dress and ornaments, including the *vanamālā*, similar to those of Viṣṇu. The long hanging earlobes, however, are distinct. The central face bears a knotted beard while the side ones, which are comparatively smaller, are juvenile. A part of the back slab on the proper sight of the god shows a small fire-altar which leaves little doubt to the deity being Brahmā. The extant portion of the proper right hand shows that it was held in *abhaya-mudrā*. The expression and facial features resemble those of Viṣṇu. Brahmā and Viṣṇu are addorsed without much space for any sort of partition (Fig. I.C.).

The tradition of addorsed images has a long history in India though its examples are not numerous. 'Domukhī Devī' installed in a modern simple brick-built flat-roofed temple at Kumrahar (Patna) actually represents an addorsed *Śālabhañjikā* carved out on both the opposite sides of a railing pillar of the Śuṅga period.[6] From Mathurā, an unusual Kuṣāṇa devotional image shows two identical male figures back to back, each holding a long, looped garland.[7] A Gāndhāra Buddha-Bodhisattva addorsed image is known from Gai Collection.[8] Variously identified as Bodhisattva, Sūrya

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6. Udai Narain Roy, *Śālabhañjikā In Art, Philosophy And Literature,* Allahabad, 1979 p. 141, Figs. 17-18.

7. J.M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans,* Berkeley, 1967, p. 219, Fig. 21.

8. Herald Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* New York, 1947, No. 276.



Viṣṇu
Fig. 1 A.



Fig. 1 B.



Fig. 1 C,

and Viṣṇu, an addorsed figure of *circa* fourth century A.D. from atop a pillar now exists in the Archaeological Museum. Gwalior.[9] Another Gupta addorsed image of Śiva and Pārvatī is housed in the Mathurā Museum.[10]

On stylistic grounds, our image may be placed in *circa* tenth century A.D.—the same date to which the Hari-Brahmā image referred to above belongs. It is, however, difficult to visualize precisely how it was erected in a sanctuary and what exactly was the purpose of creating such an image. The possibility of this image being an illustration of the concept of the identity of Brahmā with Viṣṇu, however, cannot be ruled out. The uniqueness of the image, however, is obvious and hence its importance.*

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9. Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture,* Calcutta, 1933, Pl. 45; P. K. Agrawal, "A Note on the so-called Sūrya statue from Pawāya." *Bulletin of the Ancient Indian History and Archaeology,* No. 11 (1968) ; J.C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture,* Oxford, 1974, p. 40, Pl. 34.

10. D. B. Diskalkar, "Some Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum", *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society,* Vol. V, Part I, 1932, pp. 18—57.

* Photo courtesy : Department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana.

CORRUPT READINGS OF THE THREE STANZAS IN THE BHĀṢĀPARICCHEDA

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The author in this paper proposes some corrections in the readings of *Bhāṣāpariccheda,* 18, 19, 54 written by Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana.

The printed reading of the following three stanzas in the well-known Nyāya-work *Bhāṣāpariccheda* by Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana seems to be corrupt as the following consideration would show. An attempt is made here to correct their readings also.

(1) *Bhāṣāpariccheda* 18 reads :

यत् समवेतं कार्यं भवति ज्ञेयं समवायिजनकं तत् ।
तत्रासन्नं जनकं द्वितीयमाभ्यां परं तृतीयं स्यात् ॥

The stanza must have been composed in the *Āryā* metre (precisely in the *Gīti* class of the metre), but a perusal of the verse reveals that the second foot of the first half (भवति ....तत्) is metrically defective as it contains 19 mātrās instead of 18 mātrās. Moreover the 6th gaṇa (समवा ; each gaṇa of the *Āryā* metre contains 4 mātrās) as read here is defective as it is neither a ज-गण (i. e. *guru* in the middle), nor does it contain four *laghu* letters.

Some editions read ज्ञेयं तु in place of ज्ञेयम् . This reading is more defective than the reading shown above as it contains 20 mātrās instead of 18 mātrās. The 6th gaṇa (तुसमवा) in this reading contains not four but five mātrās. It is needless to say that it contains the same two faults as shown above.

We propose to read this line as यत् समवेतं कार्यं ज्ञेयं भवति समवायिजनकं तत् so that no metrical defect would arise. The meaning remains unchanged in this proposed reading.

(2) *Bhāṣāpariccheda* 19 reads:

येन सह पूर्वभाव: कारणमादाय वा यस्य ।
अन्यं प्रति पूर्वभावे ज्ञाते यत् पूर्वभावविज्ञानम् ॥

This stanza is in the *Āryā* metre. The third foot (or first foot of the second half) which reads अन्यं प्रतिपूर्वभावे is defective as it contains 13 mātrās instead of 12 mātrās. Moreover the 3rd gaṇa in this foot (र्वभावे) contains 5 mātrās instead of 4 mātrās.

We propose to correct this foot to अन्यं प्रतिप्रागभावे so that there would arise no metrical fault. As प्रागभाव means the same as पूर्वभाव the proposed reading may be regarded as valid and original.

It appears that the twice use of the expression पूर्ववर्तित्वम् in the commentarial passage explaining this foot (प्रतीति । अन्यं प्रति पूर्ववर्तित्वं गृहीत्वैव....यस्य यत्कार्यं प्रति पूर्ववर्तित्वं गृह्यते) has given rise to the faulty reading of this foot.

(3) *Bhāṣāpariccheda* 54 reads:

उद्भूतरूपं नयनस्य गोचरो
द्रव्याणि तद्वन्ति पृथक्त्व-संख्ये ।
विभागसंयोगपरापरत्व-
स्नेहद्रवत्व परिमाणयुक्तम् ॥

The first foot of this stanza contains 12 letters while the last three feet contains 11 letters each. Thus it is quite reasonable to think that the stanza was composed in the *upajāti* metre having 11 letters in each foot. This is why we think that the first line must be regarded as metrically defective as it contains one letter more.

We are inclined to read the first line as उद्भूतरूपं नयनस्य योग्यम् which is metrically defectless and which bears the same sense. *Yogya* is to be used in neuter as it is to be connected with the word उद्भूतरूप which is neuter, *gocara*, a masculine word being *ajahallinga* (not capable of leaving its gender) is not to be changed into *gocaram*. The substitution of योग्य for गोचर is quite natural, for we find the use of the word *yogya* in a similar passage in verse 56 (रूपान्यच् चक्षुषो योग्यम्). We may read गम्यम् for योग्यम् also. It may be supposed that the use of the word *gocara* in the first half of the verse 56 (उद्भूतस्पर्शवद द्रव्यं गोचरः) is one of the causes that gave rise to this faulty reading.

Though non-equality in the number of letters in the *vṛtta chandas* is sometimes found in authoritative verses, and is also sanctioned by the authors of the works on prosody, yet it would be wrong to hold that the case in question is a valid example of this anomaly, for verses bearing such non-equality are hardly found in philosophical works. They are usually found in the works of *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* literature.

अभिनवगुप्त के अनुसार सौन्दर्यानुभूति

डॉ० ब्रजमोहन चतुर्वेदी

दिल्ली

The Reality found in every individual as self is called *Śiva* in *Śaivism*. That only is the *Beauty*. To Abhinavagupta, experiencing of self reflected in *Citta* of *Sattva* order is the experience of Beauty, termed as *Rasa* in literature. Rasa is the experience of Beauty acquired through fine arts e. g., liturature, sculpture, painting, music etc. It is extra ordinary.

सौन्दर्य का विवेचन आज एक स्वतंत्र शास्त्र के रूप में विकसित हो गया है। सौन्दर्य के विविध पक्षों का अनेक दृष्टियों से उद्घाटन एवं मूल्यांकन किया जा रहा है। सौन्दर्य विषयक भारतीय दृष्टिकोण के उपस्थापन की दृष्टि से सुप्रसिद्ध शैवाचार्य महामाहेश्वर अभिनवगुप्त (९७०-१०२०) सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण हैं। उनके द्वारा व्याख्यायित भरत प्रोक्त रस सिद्धान्त को साहित्यशास्त्र की प्रायः पूरी परम्परा ने शिरोधार्य किया।

सौन्दर्य की अनुभूति अपने आप में एक रहस्य है अतः उसके स्वरूप का निरूपणात्मक विवेचन कम जटिल नहीं। सौन्दर्य के दृश्य-श्रव्य आदि नाना प्रकार के होने से उसकी अनुभूति के स्वरूप में भी विविधता का होना अनिवार्य है। मनीषियों ने उसके तत्तत् स्तरों का प्रतिपादन किया है तथा काव्यात्मक साहित्य से होने वाली सौन्दर्यानुभूति को भी वस्तु, अलंकार, रस, वैचित्र्य एवं चमत्कार आदि अनेक वर्गों में विभाजित कर उसका विवेचन किया है, पर अभिनवगुप्त उन सबका समाहार रसानुभूति में ही करना चाहते हैं। उनकी दृष्टि में न केवल काव्य जन्य अपितु मूर्ति, चित्र एवं संगीत आदि से होने वाली अनुभूतियों में भी रस तत्त्व ही मुख्यतया विद्यमान रहता है। इसलिये उनके अनुसार रस निखिल कलाओं से जन्य अनुभूति विशेष का

सार्वभौम प्रतीक है। दूसरे शब्दों में व्यापक स्तर पर होने वाली सौन्दर्यानुभूति का ही नाम रस है। इस प्रकार रसानुभूति और सौन्दर्यानुभूति पर्याय हैं।

अभिनवगुप्त मध्यकालीन भारत की उन महान् विभूतियों में से हैं जिन्होंने अपनी विलक्षण प्रतिभा से भारतीय चिन्तन धारा के हर क्षेत्र को प्रभावित किया है। वे न केवल महामाहेश्वर शैवाचार्य थे अपितु जीवन के मूलभूत तत्त्वों के एक महान् द्रष्टा भी थे। उनकी साधना यद्यपि आध्यात्मिक थी पर जीवन को सुखमय जीने की शैवदृष्टि से वह सर्वथा ओतप्रोत थी। उनका अध्यात्म इस जीवन से आपाततः जुड़ा हुआ था। उनकी दार्शनिक मान्यताओं का आधार केवल अतीन्द्रिय अनुभव ही नहीं अपितु युक्ति भी था। युक्ति से मेरा अभिप्राय reasoning से है। उनके अनुसार योग साधना से जिस तत्त्व का साक्षात्कार होता है उसकी सत्यता युक्तियों से भी प्रमाणित हो सकती है। अतएव डॉ० पाण्डेय उन्हें युक्तिवादी आध्यात्मिक कहते हैं। रसानुभूति के विषय में अभिनवगुप्त का यह मत कि वह आनन्द के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं है, उपनिषत् प्रतिपादित रस के स्वरूप के सर्वथा अनुरूप है। **तैत्तिरीय उपनिषद्** में कहा है—'रसो वै सः' वही अर्थात् आत्मा ही रस है। **रसं ह्येवायं लब्ध्वा आनन्दीभवति** की ही सरणि पर वह यह बताना चाहते हैं कि जीवन में जहाँ कहीं भी आनन्द की अनुभूति होती है, वह रस अर्थात् परम तत्त्व आत्मा की ही उपलब्धि अर्थात् उसके ही साक्षात्कार से होती है। इस प्रकार आत्मा का साक्षात्कार ही आनन्दानुभूति का रहस्य है जो रसानुभूति के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं है।

ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञाविमर्शिनी में आनन्द के स्वरूप का निरूपण करते हुए अभिनवगुप्त कहते हैं कि वास्तव में स्वात्मपरामर्श ही आनन्दानुभूति का जनक है जिसके बिना आनन्द का अनुभव कथमपि संभव नहीं। पर यह स्वात्मपरामर्श भी तब तक संभव नहीं जब तक व्यक्ति के स्वभाव के प्रकाशन में परिपूर्णता नहीं आती। स्वभाव के परिपूर्ण रूप से प्रकाशन के क्षणों में ही आत्मा के वास्तविक स्वरूप का परामर्श होने लगता है और व्यक्ति एक विशेष प्रकार की विलक्षण अनुभूति में मग्न हो जाता है। व्यक्ति की स्वात्मपरामर्शात्मिका यही अनुभूति ही आनन्द है—**स्वरूपस्य स्वात्मनः परिपूर्णनिजस्वभावप्रकाशनमेव परामर्शतां दधदानन्द इत्युच्यते।**[1]

किसी भी व्यक्ति के स्वभाव के प्रकाशन में परिपूर्णता तीन प्रकार से संभव होती है—

१. विषय विशेष के उपभोग से,

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१. ई० प्र० वि०, भाग २, पृ० १७७.

२. अन्तः करण में अवस्थित विषयों के संस्कार रूप भावों के उद्बोध से, तथा

३. विशुद्ध चैतन्य के साक्षात्कार से।

मधुर आदि पदार्थों के आस्वादन या कान्ता के निर्भर आलिंगन आदि अवस्थाओं में भी व्यक्ति के स्वभाव के प्रकाशन का अवसर होता है पर उसमें परिपूर्णता सम्यक् रूप में न आकर आंशिक रूप में ही आ पाती है क्योंकि इन अवस्थाओं में विषय के अर्जन आदि संभाव्यमान विघ्न व्यक्ति की चेतना को प्रमाता में विश्रान्ति नहीं लेने देते, प्रत्युत रह-रह कर बाधा पहुँचाते रहते हैं। फिर भी वहाँ जो सुखानुभूति होती है वह आंशिक रूप होने से क्षणिक ही सही, पर स्वात्मपरामर्श से ही होती है। फलतः यह आनन्द अपूर्ण ही होता है—

'तदानीं यदभिलषणीयं कान्तालिङ्गनादिपरामर्शनीयं स्थितं तद्योगाद-पूर्णीयमानन्द इति'।[२]

क्षुधित व्यक्ति का दृष्टान्त देकर आचार्य अभिनवगुप्त ने विस्तारपूर्वक इस तथ्य का विवेचन किया है कि किसी भूखे व्यक्ति को उत्तम भोजन पाकर होने वाली क्षुधा की निवृत्ति से आनन्द या सुख की जो उपलब्धि होती है वह वास्तव में भोजन से नहीं अपितु स्वभाव प्रकाशन जन्य स्वात्मपरामर्श से ही होती है। क्षुधा की निवृत्ति के अनन्तर जब उसकी एक अपूर्णता समाप्त हो गयी होती है, उसकी चेतना (चित्त) को आत्मपरामर्श का अवसर मिलता है तभी आनन्द होता है—

क्षुधातुरस्य व्यतिरिक्तान्नाभिलाषविवशीकृतमतेरात्मपरामर्शोऽयमेकघनवृत्त्या यतो न संभवति ततोऽयमानन्द इवास्ति। सत्यात्मपरामर्शमये स्वानन्दे यदा तु अन्नपरिपूर्णजठरता अस्य तदा तद्रिक्तोद्रेकरूपा तावदपूर्णता विनष्टा।[३]

सांसारिक विषयों के उपभोग से अनुभूयमान निखिल सुख एक व्यतिरिक्त आकांक्षा को भी जन्म देने लगता है, जिसके पूर्ण न होने का भय अनजान रूप से मन में समा जाता है जिससे स्वभाव के प्रकाशन में परिपूर्णता नहीं आ पाती। उस समय होने वाला स्वात्मपरामर्श आंशिक ही हो पाता है फलतः आनन्दानुभूति अपूर्ण ही होती है—

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२. ई० प्र० वि०, भाग ३, पृ० १७८.

३. वही, पृ० १७८.

सांसारिकश्च सर्वोऽस्यानन्दो'''व्यतिरिक्ताकांक्षाविच्छेदमयता सर्वात्मना न स्वीकुरुते इति ततोऽप्यपूर्ण एव ।[४]

किन्तु इन विषयों के उपभोग के क्षणों में जो आनन्दानुभूति होती है वह विषयों से नहीं अपितु स्वात्मपरामर्श से ही होती है । इतना ही नहीं तीनों लोक में कहीं भी किसी भी विषय के उपभोग से आनन्द की जो अनुभूति होती है वह सब आनन्द सागर देवाधिदेव उस परमतत्त्व आत्मा का ही बिन्दु रूप में आस्वाद है—

त्रैलोक्येऽप्यत्र यो यावानानन्दः कश्चिदीक्ष्यते ।
स बिन्दुर्यस्य तं वन्दे देवमानन्दसागरम् ॥[५]

विषयानुभूति से उत्कृष्टतर होती है सौन्दर्यानुभूति जो नाट्य आदि कलाओं के माध्यम से अन्तःकरण (चित्त) में अवस्थित पर सुप्त भावों के उद्रेक द्वारा स्वभाव के प्रकाशन में परिपूर्णता का आधान करती है, जिससे स्वात्मपरामर्श होकर आनन्द का अनुभव होता है । इसे ही काव्यानन्द या रस कहते हैं । स्वात्मपरामर्श का यह प्रकार भी आंशिक रूप से ही कारगर होता है क्योंकि इस दशा में साक्षात् तो नहीं, पर संस्कार रूप से ही उपस्थित होकर विषय प्रमाता में चित्त की विश्रान्ति में बाधा डालते हैं और आत्मा की एक घन अनुभूति होने नहीं देते ।

मधुरादिरसास्वादे तु विषयस्पर्शव्यवधानम् । ततोऽपि काव्यनाट्यादौ तद्व्यवधानशून्यता तदव्यवधाने संस्कारानुवेधेषु तत्रापि तथोदितव्यवधानांशतिरस्क्रियासावधानहृदया लभन्त एव परमानन्दम् ।[६]

साक्षात् या संस्कार किसी भी रूप में विषय के संस्पर्श रूपी व्यवधान (विघ्न) से सर्वथा रहित विशुद्ध चैतन्य प्रमाता में चित्त की निरतिशय विश्रान्ति ही आनन्दानुभूति की चरम कोटि है जिसमें स्वभाव के प्रकाशन की परिपूर्णता के साथ साथ स्वात्मपरामर्श भी अखण्ड अर्थात् परिपूर्ण रूप में होता है क्योंकि उसमें किसी प्रकार का कोई व्यवधान नहीं होता । इसे ही परमानन्द कहते हैं । इस अवस्था में चित्त के सर्वथा विलय हो जाने से इसे ही निर्वृति तथा इसमें प्रमाता के विशुद्ध रूप का स्फुरण होने से इसे ही चमत्कार कहा गया है ।

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४. वही, पृ० १७८.

५. स्तवचिन्तामणि, ६१.

६. ई० प्र० वि०, भाग ३, पृ० १७९.

इस प्रकार आंशिक या परिपूर्ण किसी भी रूप में होने वाली आनन्दानुभूति स्वात्मपरामर्श जन्य ही है विषय या वस्तु जन्य नहीं तथा सौन्दर्यानुभूति भी आत्मानुभूति का ही एक प्रकार है जो विविध कलाओं अथवा प्राकृतिक विषयों के साक्षात्कार से तत्तद् भावों को उद्बुद्ध कर उनसे संवलित आत्मा का परामर्शात्मक बोध है।

रसानुभूति के सुखात्मक, दुःखात्मक या उभयात्मक स्वरूप के विषय में निर्णय देते हुए अभिनवगुप्त कहते हैं कि नाट्यशास्त्र की हर्षादींश्चाधि गच्छन्ति उक्ति में प्रयुक्त हर्ष पद आनन्द का ही बोधक है क्योंकि रसानुभूति वस्तुतः रत्यादिभावों की अनुभूति न होकर आत्मा की ही अनुभूति है जिसमें दुःख की संभावना हो कैसे सकती है, श्रव्य नाट्यादि में उसी आनन्दस्वरूप आत्मा सदाशिव के साक्षात्कार के लिये रति, शोक आदि वासनाओं तथा अभिनय आदि का व्यापार होता है।[७]

विषय के आश्रय से आत्मा के प्रकाशित होने का विधान परमार्थसार में भी उपलब्ध है जहाँ कहा गया है कि जिस प्रकार सर्वथा अदृश्य ग्रह राहु भी जब सूर्य और चन्द्रमा पर से गुजरता है तो सर्वसाधारण के लिये दृष्टिगोचर हो जाता है ठीक उसी प्रकार का है यह आत्मा जो सर्वगत होते हुए भी बाह्येन्द्रिय ग्राह्य नहीं है क्योंकि न तो इसका प्रत्यक्ष होता है और न धारण। इसका ग्रहण भी व्यक्ति के निर्मल अन्तःकरण में स्वतः होने लगता है—

राहुरदृश्योऽपि यथा शशिबिम्बस्थः प्रकाशते तद्वत्।
सर्वगतोऽप्ययमात्मा विषयाश्रयेण धी मुकुरे॥[८]

सौन्दर्यानुभूति रूप यह रस यद्यपि बोध रूप ही है तथापि यह बोध लौकिक न होकर अलौकिक कहा गया है—

'रसना च बोधरूपैव। किन्तु बोधान्तरेभ्यो लौकिकेभ्यो विलक्षणैव'।[९]

यहाँ लौकिक प्रत्यक्ष आदि प्रमाण काम नहीं करते अपितु, यह अनुभूति विभावना आदि ऐसे व्यापारों का परिणाम है जिन्हें लौकिक नहीं कहा जा सकता। इसीलिए यह अनुभूति भी अन्य सभी प्रकार की लौकिक अनुभूतियों से विलक्षण होती

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७. **अभिनवभारती, बड़ौदा, भाग ७, पृ० २८५.**

८. **परमार्थसार, का० ८.**

९. **अभिनवभारती, बड़ौदा, पृ० २८५.**

है। अलौकिक का अर्थ लोक भिन्न या लोक विरुद्ध नहीं होता अपितु, असाधारण (Extra ordinary) होता है।

अभिनवगुप्त ने अनुभव के विविध तत्त्वों के होने का विधान किया है। ये तत्त्व सामान्यतया पांच हैं-जाग्रत, स्वप्न, सुषुप्ति, तुरीय एवं तुरीयातीत। उनके अनुसार प्रतीति के विभिन्न तत्त्वों पर प्रमाता का स्वरूप भी भिन्न भिन्न हो जाता है। अभिनवगुप्त की मान्यता है कि रसानुभव का प्रमाता साधारणीकृत होता है, व्यवित प्रमाता नहीं तथा रस तुरीयातीत तत्त्व का अनुभव है जहाँ सम्पूर्ण विषय उपचेतन में लीन हो जाते हैं तथा प्रमाता जो व्यक्ति की आत्मा ही है अपने आनन्द रूप में प्रकट होता है—

अस्मन्मते तु संवेदनमेवानन्दघनमास्वाद्यते।[१०]

अभिनवगुप्त रस को अनुभव के तीन तत्त्वों से संबंधित मानते हैं। रस के अनुभव का आरम्भ प्रत्यक्ष ज्ञान से ही होता है जिसे वे इन्द्रिय बोध का तत्त्व कहते हैं। रसानुभव का दूसरा तत्त्व कल्पना तथा तीसरा भाव है। इससे और आगे तुरीय और तुरायातीत दशायें आती हैं, जिनका विवेचन यहाँ अपेक्षित नहीं है। हम यहाँ यही कहना चाहते हैं कि रसानुभव या सौन्दर्यानुभूति अन्य अनुभवों से विलक्षण प्रकार की है अतएव अभिनवगुप्त उसे अलौकिक या लोकोत्तर कहना अधिक उचित समझते हैं।

इस प्रकार प्रत्येक व्यक्ति में आत्म रूप में अवस्थित जो सत्य अर्थात् अविनश्वर तत्त्व है उसे ही शैव दर्शन में शिव कहा गया है, वस्तुतः वही सुन्दर है—सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्'। जहाँ कहीं भी हमें सौन्दर्य की प्रतीति या अनुभूति होती है वह शिव रूप उसी की प्रतीति या अनुभूति है। शैव मत में इसे ही आनन्द, विमर्श अथवा स्पन्द कहते हैं **असून् प्राणान् दारयति स्पन्दीकरोति** की व्युत्पत्ति से आदि अक्षर अ का लोप होकर निष्पन्न सुन्दर पद का व्युत्पत्तिलभ्य अर्थ भी वही तत्त्व है जिसके संस्पर्श मात्र से व्यक्ति के प्राणवायु स्पन्दित हो झकझोर उठते हैं तथा हृत्तन्त्री झंकृत हो उठती है। जो कला स्वात्मपरामर्शजन्य प्राण वायु के इस स्पन्दन या हृत्तन्त्री को झंकृत करने में जितनी अधिक सक्षम है वह उतनी ही श्रेष्ठतर है। वास्तु, मूर्ति, चित्र, संगीत एवं काव्य नामक कलाओं में यह क्षमता उत्तरोत्तर अधिक रूप में पायी जाती है। काव्य में भी चूंकि नाट्य ही ऐसी विधा है जो रस से सर्वथा ओत-प्रोत होती है अतः उसे ही कलाओं की चरम परिणति माना गया है। **'काव्येषु नाटकं रम्यम्'** का यही अभिप्राय है।

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१०. अभिनवभारती, बड़ौदा, पृ० २६२.

कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र में दास, कर्मकर, विष्टि और शूद्र

लवकुश प्रसाद द्विवेदी
इलाहाबाद

The author in this paper studies the social and economical position of the different categories of labour mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.

प्राचीन भारत में श्रम के विविध रूपों पर किया गया ऐतिहासिक अध्ययन उनके विभिन्न प्रकारों की अवधारणा को देश और काल के विशिष्ट सन्दर्भों में स्पष्ट नहीं कर सका है। जो कुछ धारणाएं इस सम्बन्ध में उभरी भी हैं उनकी सत्यता विपरीत तथ्यों के प्रकाश में आने के कारण सन्देहास्पद हो जाती है। समस्त विपरीत तथ्य अपवाद ही थे शायद ऐसा नहीं माना जा सकता। इस संदर्भ में निम्न समस्यायें उभरती हैं।

(१) दास, कर्मकर, विष्टि और शूद्र के पारस्परिक सम्बन्धों के सन्दर्भ में प्रचलित धारणाओं में अस्पष्टता, विवाद एवं अतिव्याप्ति की स्थिति किस सीमा तक स्रोत सम्मत है ?

(२) दास-श्रम व बेगार-श्रम का क्रमशः प्राचीन भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था तथा सामन्तीय अर्थव्यवस्था से क्या सम्बन्ध था ? क्या वे;इन अर्थव्यवस्थाओं के आवश्यक अंग थे ?

(३) क्या विष्टि और बेगार एक दूसरे के पर्यायवाची हैं ? श्रम के रूप में जो राजस्व की वसूली राज्य द्वारा की जाती थी उससे विष्टि सम्बन्धित थी या नहीं और यदि सम्बन्धित थी तो किस रूप में ?

(४) अर्थशास्त्र में उल्लिखित दास, कर्मकर, विष्टि और शूद्र को किस सीमा तक समानता कीं कोटि में रखा जा सकता है और किस सीमा तक सम्पृक्त ?

इन समस्याओं के संदर्भ में इतिहासकारों की परस्पर विरोधी मान्यतायें है। प्राचीन भारतीय समाज एवं अर्थव्यवस्था के आलोक में शूद्र, कर्मकर, दास एवं विष्टि की ऐतिहासिक स्थिति पर कार्य करने वाले विद्वानों में आर० एस० शर्मा, डी० डी० कोसाम्बी, बी० सी० सेन, डी० सी० सरकार, ए० एन० बोस, पी० सी० जैन, के० एम० सरन, लल्लन जी गोपाल, बी० एन० एस० यादव, डी० आर० चानना आदि के नाम लिए जा सकते हैं। परस्पर विचार वैषम्य के कारण ऐतिहासिक यथार्थ का बोध नहीं हो पाता। उदाहरणार्थ आर० एस० शर्मा के कथनानुसार भारत में शूद्र वे समस्त कार्य करते थे जो ग्रीस और रोम में दास किया करते थे लेकिन शूद्र दास नहीं थे,[1] एक अन्तर्विरोध की स्थिति उत्पन्न करता है। यू० एन० घोषाल के अनुसार दास शूद्र से भी भूराजस्व वसूला जाता था[2] लेकिन आर० एस० शर्मा के अनुसार शूद्र को भू-राजस्व ही नहीं अपितु समस्त प्रकार के करों से मुक्त रखा गया था।[3] घोषाल ही नहीं अपितु आर० एस० शर्मा भी एक अन्य स्थल पर यह कहते हैं कि मौर्यकाल में शूद्र प्रधान नई बस्तियाँ राज्य द्वारा आरोपित सभी भारों को वहन करने की क्षमता रखती थीं[4] जो उनके उपर्युक्त मत के विपरीत है। पुनश्च, कौटिल्य की यह मान्यता कि शूद्र को दास नहीं बनाया जा सकता[5] यह कथन सिर्फ शूद्रों की शूद्रपत्नियों से उत्पन्न पुत्रों को छोड़कर ऊपर के तीनों वर्णों के पुत्रों पर ही लागू होता है।[6] कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र में शूद्र की इस संकुचित व्याख्या के लिए कोई प्रबल आधार न होना इसे सन्दिग्ध बना देता है। शूद्रों की सामाजिक स्थिति के सम्बन्ध में उनका यह मन्तव्य भी, कि शूद्रों को वर्णबाह्य नीच जातियों की समकक्षता प्राप्त थी, कौटिल्य के उद्धरणों से मेल नहीं खाता क्योंकि

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१. आर० एस० शर्मा : शूद्रों का प्राचीन इतिहास, दिल्ली, १९७९, पृ० ९६-७

२. यू० एन० घोषाल : काण्ट्रीब्यूशन्स टु दि हिस्ट्री ऑफ हिन्दू रेवेन्यू सिस्टम, कलकत्ता, १९२९, पृ० ५५

३. आर० एस० शर्मा : पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० १४७, १४९

४. आर० एस० शर्मा : वही, पृ० १४६ [इस सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने नयचन्द्रिका टीका का साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत किया है—देखिए (पाद टिप्पणी ३०) पृ० १६७]

५. कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र कौ० अर्थ०) : ३ . १३

६. आर० एस० शर्मा : पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० १५७

अर्थशास्त्र में शूद्रों की सेना को ब्राह्मणों की सेना की अपेक्षा श्रेष्ठ माना गया है।[७] ठीक इसी तरह की समस्या 'विष्टि' शब्द की मूलभूत अभिव्यक्ति के सम्बन्ध में भी परिलक्षित होती है।[८] इतिहासकारों का एक वर्ग, जिनमें डी० सी० सरकार, एम० एच० गोपाल,[९] आर० एस० शर्मा,[१०] डी० एन० झा[११], डी० डी० कोसाम्बी[१२] के नाम लिये जा सकते हैं, इसे बेगार-श्रम मानने का पक्षधर है जबकि इसे बेगार-श्रम न मानने वाले इतिहासकारों में लल्लन जी गोपाल[१३], आर० पी० कांग्ले,[१४] एस० सी०

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७. **कौ० अर्थ० : ९.२** [इस सम्बन्ध में आर० एस० शर्मा का मत है कि शूद्रों को सेना में भर्ती करने के लिए कौटिल्य का तैयार होना उस विश्वास की भावना का परिचायक है जो समझौता और निष्ठुर नियन्त्रण की उनकी दुहरी नीति से उत्पन्न हुई थी (विस्तृत जानकारी के लिए द्रष्टव्य—आर० एस० शर्मा का **पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ**, पृ १६५) लेकिन ये तर्क अधिक प्रबल नहीं लगते क्योंकि कौटिल्य ने बहुत स्पष्ट रूप से उनके सेना में प्रवेश की व्यवस्था की है जो कि अर्थशास्त्र में ही उल्लिखित आचार्यों के मत के अनुसार भी अनुचित नहीं है।]

८. डी० सी० सरकार : **इण्डियन हिस्टॉरिकल रिव्यू** भाग ६ (१९८०), पृ० २५६

९. एम० एच० गोपाल, **मौर्यन पब्लिक फाइनेन्स**, लन्दन, १९३५, पृ० १०५

१०. आर. एस. शर्मा : **इण्डियन फ्यूडलिज्म**, कलकत्ता, १९६५, पृ० ५०, तथा **पूर्वोद्धृत ग्रन्थ**, पृ० १४७

११. डी० एन० झा : **रेवेन्यू सिस्टम इन पोस्ट मौर्यन एण्ड गुप्ता टाइम्स**, कलकत्ता १९६७, पृ० ६६

१२. डी० डी० कोसाम्बी : **दि कल्चर एण्ड सिविलीजेशन ऑफ ऐंशियन्ट इण्डिया**, दिल्ली, १९७७, पृ० १५३

१३. लल्लन जी गोपाल, : **आर्गनाइजेशन ऑफ इण्डस्ट्रीज इन ऐंशियन्ट इण्डिया**, (यह 'लेख जर्नल आफ इण्डियन हिस्ट्री', भाग ४२, १९६४ में प्रकाशित है) पृ० ८८८

१४. आर० पी० कांग्ले : **कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र**, भाग २, १९६०, ३५१

भट्टाचार्य[१५], बी० सी० सेन,[१६] एन० एन० खेर[१७] आदि प्रमुख हैं। कर्मकरों की वास्तविक स्थिति का प्रश्न भी पर्याप्त विवाद ग्रस्त है। कुछ विद्वान इन्हें दासों की कोटि में रखने का प्रयास करते हैं।, और कुछ विद्वान इन्हें मुक्त श्रमिक, कुशल कारीगर या किराए के श्रमिक अथवा वेतनभोगी श्रमिक सिद्ध करते हैं। डी० आर० चानना कर्मकरों को उत्पादन के कार्यों में लगाए गए वेतनभोगी श्रमिक[१८] मानते हैं। जहाँ एक ओर के० एम० सरन इन्हें 'अन्तेवासी' के साथ समीकृत करने और राज्य द्वारा विविध प्रकार के कार्यों में लगाए गए वेतनभोगी श्रमिक की मान्यता को स्थापित करने का प्रयास करते हैं[१९] वहीं दूसरी ओर आर० एस० शर्मा उन्हें दासों की कोटि में ही रखने का प्रयास करते हैं। ए० एन० बोस ने कर्मकरों को व्यापारिक श्रमिक माना है[२०] इस प्रकार यह निर्धारित कर पाना कठिन हो गया है कि प्राचीन भारतीय समाज व अर्थव्यवस्था में सामान्य रूप से तथा अर्थशास्त्र में विशेष रूप से इन आलोचित वर्गों की सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थिति कैसी थी ? अतः यहाँ केवल कौटिल्य के अर्थशास्त्र में उनकी कार्यगत विशिष्टताओं एवं सामाजिक आर्थिक स्थितियों पर विचार किया जा रहा है।

कौटिल्य के **अर्थशास्त्र** में ९ प्रकार के दासों का उल्लेख मिलता है[२१] जबकि कुछ इतिहासकारों का मत है कि **अर्थशास्त्र** में केवल ५ प्रकार के ही दास का उल्लेख

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१५. एस० सी० भट्टाचार्य : **सम आँस्पेक्ट्स ऑफ इण्डियन सोसाइटी,** कलकत्ता, १९७८, पृ० १७२-३

१६. बी० सी० सेन, : **इकोनॉमिक्स इन कौटिल्य,** कलकत्ता, १९६७, पृ० ७१

१७. एन. एन. खेर : **आग्रेरियन एण्ड फिस्कल इकोनॉमी इन दि पोस्ट मोर्यन एज,** वाराणसी, १९७३, पृ. ३०२

१८. डी. आर. चानना : **स्लेवरी इन ऐंशियन्ट इण्डिया,** दिल्ली, १९६०, पृ० १२९-३

१९. के० एम० सरन : **लेबर इन ऐंशियन्ट इण्डिया,** बम्बई, १९५७, पृ० ६०-६२

२०. ए० एन० बोस : **सोशल एण्ड रूरल इकोनॉमी ऑफ नार्दर्न इण्डिया,** कलकत्ता, १९६७, पृ० २०३

२१. डी० आर० चानना : **पूर्वोद्धृत,** पृ० ११४

हुआ है।[२२] उस समय दासों की स्थिति पहले की अपेक्षा अधिक अच्छी थी क्योंकि अर्थशास्त्र में ऐसा उल्लेख मिलता है कि उदरदास को छोड़कर अन्य प्रकार के दासों के क्रय-विक्रय पर राज्य द्वारा कठोर दण्ड का विधान था।[२३] उस समय दासों को पैतृक सम्पत्ति रखने का अधिकार था तथा वे अपने मालिक की सहमति से निजी सम्पत्ति भी रख सकते थे। दासों को राज्य द्वारा विष्टि, कर्मकरों तथा दण्डप्रकृतियों के साथ कृषि कार्य में लगाने के उल्लेख[२४] कई बार आए हैं किन्तु न तो व्यक्तिगत रूप से और न राजकीय रूप से अकेले दास-श्रम का प्रयोग खेती के लिए बड़े पैमाने पर होता हुआ दिखाई देता है। अतः जब तक दासों के साथ उल्लिखित अन्य प्रकार के श्रमिकों को भी दासों की विभिन्न कोटियाँ न मान लिया जाय, दासता को कृषि-कर्म का प्रधान आधार नहीं बताया जा सकता। कुछ दासों को राजकीय उद्योगों में भी लगाया जाता था[२५] लेकिन अर्थशास्त्र में कृषि और उद्योग ही दासों के एक मात्र कार्य क्षेत्र नहीं थे। घरेलू कार्यों में उनके नियोजन को भी पर्याप्त प्रधानता दी गई है। यहाँ तक कि दासों की एक ऐसी विशिष्ट कोटि की भी झलक मिलती है जिन्हें केवल भोजन, वस्त्र और विकृत मदिरा पर ही रखा जाता था[२६] और उनसे केवल घरेलू कार्य तथा गन्दे कार्य ही लिए जाते थे। सामान्य दासों की कोटि इनसे पृथक् थी। यह दासों के प्रति उल्लिखित दण्डनीय अपराधों के अवलोकन से स्पष्ट हो जाता है।[२७] दासों की २ कोटियाँ न मानने की स्थिति में दोनों कथन परस्पर विरोधी हो जाते हैं। उल्लेखनीय है कि ग्रीस और रोम में भी दास

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२२. बी० एन० एस० यादव, : **सोसाइटी एण्ड कल्चर इन नार्दर्न इण्डिया इन दि ट्वेल्थ सेन्चुरी ए० डी०**, इलाहाबाद, १९७३, पृ० ७३ और जी० एस० पी० मिश्र : **प्राचीन भारतीय समाज और अर्थव्यवस्था**, जयपुर १९८३

२३. **कौ० अर्थ०** : ३ . १३

२४. आर पी० कांग्ले : **कौटिल्य-अर्थशास्त्र, भाग ३ ए स्टडी**, बम्बई, १९६५, पृ० १७०

२५. आर० पी० कांग्ले : **वही**, पृ० १८३ [इसके प्रमाण के लिए उन्होंने कौ० अर्थ० (२ . २४) का भी साक्ष्य प्रस्तुत किया है

२६. **कौ** अर्थ० : २ . २५

२७. **वही** : ३ . १३

२८. वी० जोसेफ : **दि ऐंशियन्ट इण्डियन स्लेवरी एण्ड दि आइडियल ऑफ मन**, आक्सफोर्ड, १९७४ पृ. ८८

संदेशवाहक का कार्य करते थे[२८] लेकिन वहाँ भारी संख्या में दास बड़े-बड़े भूमिपतियों द्वारा कृषिकार्य में व्यक्तिगत रूप से लगाए जाते थे। व्यक्तिगत उद्योगों में भी दासों के बड़े पैमाने पर नियोजन के साक्ष्य मिलते हैं किन्तु न तो उन्हें निजी सम्पत्ति रखने का अधिकार था और न वे भेंट के अतिरिक्त कोई अन्य सामग्री ही एकत्रित करके रख सकते थे।[२९] **अर्थशास्त्र** में भी दासों को संदेशवाहक के रूप में चित्रित किया गया है।[३०] दासता से मुक्ति के लिए काफी उदार नियमों की व्यवस्था अर्थशास्त्र में प्राप्त होती है।[३१] उपर्युक्त विवेचनों के प्रकाश में आने के बाद ए० सी० कोल की यह मान्यता तर्कसंगत नहीं लगती कि 'दासता समस्त श्रमिकों की एक आवश्यक प्राकृतिक अवस्था है'[३२] क्योंकि **अर्थशास्त्र** में ऐसे अनेक प्रमाण भी मौजूद हैं जिनके आधार पर दासों एवं अन्य श्रमिकों में स्पष्ट विभेद किया जा सकता है।

प्रायः दास और कर्मकर का उल्लेख **अर्थशास्त्र** में एक साथ ही हुआ है जिसके कारण अधिकांश इतिहासकार दोनों के बीच कोई अन्तर नहीं करते[३३] लेकिन वस्तुतः इसी ग्रन्थ में दोनों के कार्यों में पर्याप्त अन्तर देखने को मिलता है। अर्थशास्त्र में कर्मकरों को एक स्थल पर धातु-विशेषज्ञ के रूप में चित्रित करने का प्रयास किया है।[३४] कौटिल्य ने उन्हें करदाताओं की सूची में भी रखा है[३५] तथा उनके पारिश्रमिक के रूप में राज्य की तरफ से वेतन की भी व्यवस्था की है।[३६] लेकिन **अर्थशास्त्र** के सूक्ष्म अध्ययन से उनकी एक कोटि उक्त स्थिति से अलग भी प्राप्त होती है। कुछ कर्मकरों को घरेलू नौकरों की तरह ही भोजन, वस्त्र एवं विकृत मदिरा आदि

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२९. एस० जी० मैनकमन : **स्लेवरी थ्रू दि ऐजेज**, लन्दन, १९३८, पृ २१

३०. **कौ० अर्थ० : १ . ११**

३१. **वही : ३ . १३; २ . १**

३२. ए० सी० कोल : **कैलहन लिंकन एण्ड लेबर**, पृ० २३५ [यह लेख साइन्स एण्ड सोसाइटी, भाग १८ (नं० ३) में प्रकाशित है।]

३३. इस सम्बन्ध में रोमिला थापर (**भारत का इतिहास**), डी डी० कोसाम्बी (**ऐन इण्ट्रोडक्शन टू दि स्टडी आफ इण्डियन हिस्ट्री**) (तथा आर० एस० शर्मा) **शूद्रों का प्राचीन इतिहास**) के नाम गिनाए जा सकते हैं। विस्तृत अध्ययन के लिए इन विद्वानों का सम्बन्धित पुस्तकें देखी जा सकती हैं।

३४. **कौ० अर्थ० : २ . १२**

३५. **वही : २ . ३५**

३६. **वही : २ . २५; २ २४**

पारिश्रमिक के रूप में मिलती थी।[३७] जहाँ तक इन उल्लेखों के आधार पर कर्मकरों की सामाजिक स्थिति का प्रश्न है, उन्हें न तो दासों की एक कोटि माना जा सकता है और न उनके ऊपर परतन्त्रता का आरोप ही किया जा सकता है। यदि कर्मकर दासों की तरह परतन्त्र होते तो करदाताओं में उनके उल्लेख का प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता और न कृषि कार्य में अक्षमता की स्थिति में राज्य उन्हें बैल और बीज जैसी सहायताएँ ही देता।[३८] उनका वेतनभोगी तथा धातुकर्मों में दक्षशिल्पी[३९] होना भी उनकी वैयक्तिक स्वतन्त्रता का परिचायक है। और यही बात पालि ग्रन्थों में आने वाले उल्लेखों से भी परिपुष्ट होती है।[४०]

अर्थशास्त्र में श्रम के प्रमुख प्रकार के रूप में 'विष्टि' शब्द का उल्लेख अनेकों बार हुआ है जिसके वास्तविक अर्थ के सम्बन्ध में विद्वानों में पर्याप्त मतभेद है। यह शब्द प्रायः राजकीय आय के महत्वपूर्ण अंग के रूप में ही प्रयुक्त हुआ है। उदाहरणार्थ राजस्व के रूप में,[४१] श्रम की विभिन्न कोटियों के रूप में[४२] राजकीय उद्योग एवं कृषि क्षेत्र के सम्बन्ध में,[४३] इत्यादि। किन्तु **अर्थशास्त्र** में आने वाले एक उल्लेख में कहा गया है कि राजा दण्ड, विष्टि और कर की बाधाओं से प्रताड़ित कृषि को रक्षा करे।[४४] इस उल्लेख का अर्थ है कि दण्ड, विष्टि और कर के अतिरिक्त और अनियमित आरोपण से कृषि के क्षेत्र में जो व्यवधान उत्पन्न होता है राजा उससे कृषि

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३७. **वही** : २ . २५

३८. **वही** : २ . २४

३९. कर्मकरों की ऐसी स्थिति का प्रमाण देते हुए पी० सी जैन ने उन्हें पाणिनि द्वारा बताए गए शिल्पी कारीगरों (३ २ २२) से समीकृत करने का प्रयास किया है। विस्तृत विवेचन के लिए द्रष्टव्य पी० सी० : जैन **लेबर इन ऐंशियन्ट इण्डिया**, दिल्ली, १९७१, पृ० २३०

४०. डी० आर० चानना : **पूर्वोद्धृत, परिशिष्ट ३**, पृष्ठ १२९-३२

४१. लल्लन जी गोपाल : **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० ८८८

४२ **कौ० अर्थ०** : ५ . ३ (यहाँ विष्टि शब्द का प्रयोग कर्मचारी या सामान्य वेतनभोगी श्रमिक के रूप में हुआ है।)

४३. आर० पी कांग्ले : **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० १८३

४४. **दण्डविष्टिकराबाधैः रक्षेदुपहताम् कृषिम्।**
स्तेनव्यालविषग्राहैर्व्याधिभिश्च पशुव्रजाम्॥"
(कौटिल्य अर्थशास्त्र २ . १)

की रक्षा करे। अर्थात् यह ध्यान रखे कि दण्ड, विष्टि और कर की सख्त और निर्मम वसूली के कारण सामान्य किसान की खेती में काम-काज ठप न हो जाय। इस उल्लेख से विष्टि भी दण्ड और कर की भाँति राजस्व का एक नियमित प्रकार प्रतीत होती है और उसके सम्बन्ध में बरती जाने वाली या बरती जा सकने वाली समस्त अनियमितताएँ राजा द्वारा रक्षणीय थीं। 'विष्टि' शब्द का प्रयोग इस सन्दर्भ में भी प्राप्त होता है कि समाहर्त्ता को चाहिए कि वह हिरण्य, धान्य, कुप्य और विष्टि आदि का विस्तृत लेखा-जोखा तैयार करे।[४५] इससे भी विष्टि की राजस्व के रूप में नियमितता सिद्ध होती है और अनियमित तथा आकस्मिक बेगार के रूप में इसका निराकरण ही होता है। कभी-कभी दासों, शूद्रों एवं कर्मकरों से सीमित बेगार भी लिया जाता था लेकिन इससे इस प्रथा को नियमित विष्टि मान लेना उचित न होगा। कौटिल्य द्वारा व्यय शरीर के अन्तर्गत विष्टि का उल्लेख विष्टि पर होने वाले राजकीय व्यय की अभिसूचना देता है और डी० सी० सरकार के इस मत की पुष्टि भी करता है कि **अर्थशास्त्र** में विष्टि पूर्णरूपेण भुगतान रहित नहीं थी।[४६] लेकिन विष्टि के नियमित स्वरूप की उपर्युक्त विवेचना और उसके अनियमित और मनमानी उपयोगों के ऊपर राज्य का अंकुश यह भी सिद्ध करता है कि विष्टि का सामान्य अर्थ राजस्व का एक नियमित प्रकार ही था, अनियमित बेगार के रूप में इसका वास्तविक प्रचलन अपवाद स्वरूप है।

अर्थशास्त्र के सूक्ष्म निरीक्षण से सहज ही यह अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि श्रम के मुख्य अंग के रूप में शूद्रों को विशाल पैमाने पर कृषि, व्यापार तथा पशुपालन के क्षेत्र में लगाया जाता था जिसके लिए कौटिल्य ने 'वार्त्ता'[४७] शब्द का प्रयोग किया है। उन्होंने शूद्रों को दास, कर्मकर और अन्य प्रकार के श्रमिकों की कोटि से ऊपर रखने का प्रयास किया है क्योंकि **अर्थशास्त्र** में इस तथ्य का स्पष्ट संकेत प्राप्त होता है कि किसी भी शूद्र को दास नहीं बनाया जा सकता[४८] और न ही उसे बन्धक अथवा गिरवी रखा जा सकता है। उसने नाबालिग शूद्र पुत्रों के भी क्रय-विक्रय पर रोक लगा दी है।[४९] इस नियम का उल्लंघन करने वाले के लिए राज्य की तरफ से कठोर दण्ड की व्यवस्था की गई थी।[५०] **अर्थशास्त्र** में शूद्रों को कर दाता की सूची में

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४५. कौ० अर्थ० : २ . ७
४६. डी० सी० सरकार, पूर्वोद्धृत, पृ० २५६
४७. कौ० अर्थ० : १ . ३
४८. वही : ३ . १३
४९. वही : ३ . १३
५०. वही : ३ . १३ (यहाँ पर उल्लेखनीय है कि यह दण्ड ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय वैश्य और शूद्र के लिए अलग अलग निर्धारित किया गया था।)

रखा जाना,[५१] अर्द्धसीतिक के रूप में उनके उल्लेख[५२] तथा भू-स्वामित्व के भी कुछ स्पष्ट संकेत[५३] कौटिल्य के राजतन्त्र में दासों और कर्मकरों से पृथक उनकी क्रमशः स्वतन्त्र और उच्चतर स्थिति को स्थापित करने के लिए पर्याप्त हैं। गौतम से चली आ रही परम्परा को दोहराते हुए कौटिल्य द्वारा शूद्रों के व्यवसाय में 'वार्त्ता' का उल्लेख भू-स्वामित्व और उद्योग तथा व्यापार में उनके स्वतन्त्र अस्तित्व के बिना अर्थहीन हो जाएगा। किन्तु इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि सभी शूद्र स्वतन्त्र रूप से वार्त्ता सेवी थे। उनमें से अनेक अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति की विपन्नता के कारण कर्मकर, विष्टि तथा दास श्रमिकों की कोटि में भी रहे होंगे।[५४] अतः कम से कम अर्थशास्त्र के उल्लेखों के आलोक में दासों से ऐसे शूद्रों की अभिन्नता नहीं स्थापित की जा सकती।

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५१. चूंकि **अर्थशास्त्र** में कृषकों से कर वसूलने का प्रमाण प्रभूत मात्रा में प्राप्त होता है और इसके भी साक्ष्य मिलते हैं कि शूद्रों को बड़े पैमाने पर कृषि कार्य में लगाया जाता था तथा उन्हें जमीन में बटाईदारी, उपज का एक निश्चित भाग आदि मिलता था तो उन्हें राजस्व से कैसे मुक्त रखा गया रहा होगा? कुछ विद्वानों की यह अवधारणा है कि उन्हें भू-राजस्व ही नहीं अपितु समस्त प्रकार के करों से मुक्ति थी। उपरोक्त विवेचन से यह मत खण्डित होता हुआ प्रतीत होता है।

५२. **कौ० अर्थ०** : २.२४ यहाँ ऐसा उल्लेख मिलता है कि जो खेत बोये न गए हों उन्हें सीताध्यक्ष कृषकों को आधी कटाई पर दे दें। इससे यह अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि उन कृषकों में शूद्र कृषकों की संख्या अपवाद स्वरूप न रही होगी।

५३. इस जानकारी के लिए द्रष्टव्य—एन० एन० घोष की पुस्तक **'अर्ली हिस्ट्री आफ इण्डिया'** (जो डा० ओम प्रकाश द्वारा संशोधित की गई है), इलाहाबाद, १९८१, पृ० ३५६-७। इसमें शूद्रों के भूस्वामित्व के बारे में कुछ ऐसे अप्रत्यक्ष प्रमाणों का उल्लेख किया गया है जिनसे यह लगता है कि उन्हें भू-स्वामित्व का महत्वपूर्ण अधिकार अवश्य प्राप्त रहा होगा।

५४. इस बात का समर्थन आर० एस० शर्मा ने भी किया है। देखिए आर० एस० शर्मा : **शूद्रों का प्राचीन इतिहास**, दिल्ली, १९७९ पृ० १५३-१६५

उपर्युक्त विवेचनों से यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि **अर्थशास्त्र** में उल्लिखित दास, कर्मकर, विष्टि और शूद्र में पर्याप्त अन्तर था। जहाँ तक उन्हें विष्टि से सम्बन्धित करने का प्रश्न है, राज्य द्वारा विष्टि शारीरिक श्रम, राजस्व एवं अन्य प्रकार के श्रमों के रूप में (यथा—वेतन प्रदत्त श्रम, न्यूनतम वेतन के भुगतान के रूप में किया गया श्रम, अथवा केवल भोजन, वस्त्रादि के बदले किया गया शारीरिक श्रम इत्यादि) अवश्य विद्यमान थी लेकिन इसे सामान्य रूप से अनियमित और आकस्मिक बेगार से समीकृत नहीं किया जा सकता। इस सन्दर्भ में उल्लेखनीय है कि **अर्थशास्त्र** में जिस विष्टि का उल्लेख हुआ है वह अपने सामान्य रूप में परवर्ती काल की नियमित विष्टि से पूर्णतया भिन्न थी। अन्ततः, अर्थशास्त्र के सीमित सन्दर्भ के परिप्रेक्ष्य में यदि विष्टि और दास-श्रम का सम्बन्ध क्रमशः सामन्तीय एवं प्राचीन भारतीय अर्थ-व्यवस्था के आवश्यक अंग के रूप में जोड़ने का प्रयास किया जाय तो यह उचित न होगा क्योंकि प्राचीन भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था किसी भी कीमत पर दास-श्रम के आधार पर नहीं टिकी हुई थी।[५५] विष्टि की सामन्तीय अर्थव्यवस्था के पक्षधरों के अनुसार भी **अर्थशास्त्र** के समय में ऐसी कोई व्यवस्था प्राप्त नहीं होती। इसलिए **अर्थशास्त्र** में उल्लिखित विष्टि का सामन्तीय अर्थव्यवस्था के आवश्यक अंग के रूप में मिलने का कोई प्रश्न ही नहीं उठता। लेकिन सामन्तीय व्यवस्था के अस्तित्व में आ जाने के बाद भी विष्टि का अत्याचारी स्वरूप ही उसका सामान्य स्वरूप बन गया होगा। यह एक विचारणीय प्रश्न है और इस पर दिए गए समस्त साक्ष्य इस निष्कर्ष को वहन करने के लिए पर्याप्त नहीं हैं।

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५५. इस मत के समर्थन में ए० एन० बोस के विचार महत्वपूर्ण हैं। देखिए—ए० एन० बोस : **पूर्वोद्धृत**, पृ० २०१

मध्य प्रदेश के सीहोर जिले की गुहा-चित्रकला

श्रीमती माधुरी शर्मा
इलाहाबाद

The paintings found in stone caves are an inevitable and important source material for knowing the life and surroundings of the primitive man. The authoress in the present paper throws light on some newly discovered stone caves in Sehore district of M. P. in which the figures of deers, elephants, camels, monkeys, bulls, big fishes, warriors with swords and shields as well as the hunting scenes are carved. In paintings, red, white and green natural mineral colours are used. Super-impositions are also seen on these paintings, the different dates of which must be analysed with modern scientific methods.

प्रागैतिहासिक मानव के जीवन तथा उसके क्रिया कलापों की जानकारी के लिए गुहा.चित्रकला का सहारा लेना आवश्यक है। कुछ पुराविदों की धारणा है कि भारत में नदी-घाटियों की अपेक्षा शैलगृहों से प्रागैतिहासिक मानव के इतिहास को जानने में कहीं अधिक सफलता प्राप्त हो सकती है। १९७५ से १९७७ ई० सन् तक लेखिका ने पुरातात्त्विक सर्वेक्षण क्रम में सीहोर जिले में बुदनी तहसील में अनेकों शैल-चित्र ढूढ़ निकाले। लेखिका द्वारा खोजे गये सभी शिलाश्रय शाहगंज रेहटी मार्ग पर ७७.३० से ७७ ४८ पूर्व देशान्तर और २२.४३ से २२.५४ उत्तर अक्षांश के मध्य नर्मदा नदी के उत्तर में स्थित हैं। प्रस्तुत लेख में स्थान विशेष के आधार पर सीहोर जिले के शैल चित्रों को आठ भागों में बाँटा गया है। क्रमिक रूप से इन चित्रित शिलाश्रयों का विवरण प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है :—

१—कोसम पानी शिलाश्रय

यह शिलाश्रय बुदनी से १० कि० मी० उत्तर पूर्व पंडाडीह गाँव के समीप स्थित है। शिलाश्रय की समुद्र तट से ऊँचाई १८००′ है। यहाँ एक शिलाश्रय प्रकाश में आया है जिसकी लम्बाई १५′ और चौड़ाई ६′ है। शिलाश्रय में लाल तथा सफेद

रंग से चित्र चित्रित हैं। एक चित्र में हिरन के आकार का जानवर अंकित है, अन्य चित्र ढाल-तलवार लिए योद्धाओं के हैं। एक अन्य चित्र में एक ऊँट तथा एक चित्तीदार जानवर का चित्रण है।

२—मृगनाथ शिलाश्रय

कोसम पानी शिलाश्रय से एक किलोमीटर दूरी पर एक दूसरे शिलाश्रय में लाल रंग के हाथी, योद्धा तथा आड़े तिरछे डिजाइन के रंग भरे जानवरों के चित्र मिले हैं। इस शिलाश्रय की लम्बाई ४०′ तथा चौड़ाई १२′ है। शिलाश्रय की समुद्र तल से ऊँचाई २००४′ है।

३—बाँया शिलाश्रय

यह स्थल बुदनी रेहटी मार्ग पर बुदनी से १६ कि० मी० दूरी पर बाँया गाँव के समीप स्थित है। बाँया गाँव के उत्तर में एक तालाब है जहाँ कई शिलाश्रयों में शिलाचित्र मिले हैं। इस स्थान की समुद्र तल से ऊँचाई २०००′ है। यहाँ दो विशाल मछलियों की आकृतियाँ जो शायद ह्वेल मछली की हैं, विशेष महत्व की हैं। ये चित्र बलुआ पत्थर की ८ मीटर खड़ी चट्टानों पर गेरू रंग से अंकित किये गये हैं। बाँयी तरफ की मछली की आकृति १.१६ मीटर लम्बी तथा .७७ मीटर चौड़ी है। मछली के पंखों को बड़ी खूबसूरती से दर्शाया गया है। पंख उड़ते रहने के कारण चित्र में गतिशीलता की भावना नजर आती है। डॉ० यशोधर मठपाल[1] ने इन चित्रों को मध्य पाषाण काल का बताया है। यदि यह चित्र मध्य पाषाण काल का मान लिया जाय तो यह सम्भावना मानी जा सकती है कि मध्य पाषाणिक मानव को समुद्र की जानकारी रही होगी। तभी तो उसे ह्वेल मछली के बारे में जानकारी थी। यह भी सम्भावना हो सकती है कि यह चित्र प्रारम्भिक ऐतिहासिक काल का हो जब कि मानव का सम्पर्क समुद्र से हो गया था। डॉ० यशोधर मठपाल[2] का विचार है कि सम्भवतः शिलाश्रयी मानव ने यहाँ से ८ कि० मी० की दूरी पर स्थित नर्मदा में उपलब्ध होने वाली विशाल मछली का अंकन किया होगा। बांया में एक दूसरे शिलाश्रय में सफेद रंग के चित्र में दो मनुष्यों को एक वृषभ को पकड़कर ले जाते हुए दिखाया गया है। बांया में तालाब के उत्तरी पूर्व कोने से १/२ कि० मी० पूर्व की तरफ एक पहाड़ी के ऊपर एक शिलाश्रय में पंख लगे हुए, विचित्र मानव का चित्र है। पहाड़ी के उत्तर की तरफ सबसे ऊपर एक शिलाश्रय में लाल रंग का हाथी चित्रित

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१. यशोधर, मठपाल, **मानव वर्ष ४ अंक २, १९७६ एथनोग्राफिक एण्ड फोक कल्चर सोसाइटी**, लखनऊ, पृ० २५-२८।

२. वही,

है। इसी शिलाश्रय में ज्यामितीय प्रकार के मानव तथा रेखाचित्र भी प्रकाश में आये हैं। ज्यामितीय के चित्रों में मानव के शरीर को चतुर्भुज के आकार का चित्रित किया है। एक चित्र में रीढ़ को मानव के शरीर में दर्शाया गया है, जिससे यह अनुमान किया जा सकता है कि यहाँ के पाषाण कालीन मानव को अस्थिविद्या या शल्य चिकित्सा की जानकारी थी। काश्मीर में बुर्ज होम नामक स्थल के नव पाषाण स्तर से भी शल्य चिकित्सा के पुरातात्त्विक प्रमाण मिले हैं। प्रारम्भिक ऐतिहासिक काल की एक पकी मिट्टी की मूर्ति इलाहाबाद संग्रहालय को प्राप्त हुयी है जिसमें शरीर के मांस पेशियों को दर्शाया गया है। एक शिलाश्रय में एक मिथुन चित्र है। इसमें एक पुरुष स्त्री को अपनी तरफ खींच रहा है। इसी तरह के मिथुन चित्र डॉ० वाकणकर को भीम बैठका के नग्न मठारिका गुहा से मिला है।[३]

४—सारु मारु शिलाश्रय

यह स्थल वांया से ५ कि० मी० दूरी पर पानगुडरिया गाँव के समीप है। यहाँ से अशोक के दो लघु शिला लेख भी प्रकाश में आये हैं।[४] इस स्थल से समुद्र तल की ऊँचाई २१८७′ है। यहाँ एक पहाड़ी पर लगभग ५० की संख्या में स्तूप देखे गये हैं। डॉ० के० डी० वनर्जी के निर्देशन में एक स्तूप का उत्खनन कार्य किया गया जिसमें स्तूप, छत्र एवं अशोक कालीन लेख प्राप्त हुये हैं।[५] यहाँ की गुफाओं में अश्वारोही तथा एक शिलाश्रय में लाल रंग के बन्दरों को पंक्ति में खड़े दिखाया गया है। यह दृश्य महाकपि जातक से मेल खाता है। यहाँ से मध्य पाषाण कालीन लघु पाषाण उपकरण भी प्राप्त हुए हैं। इसी स्थल से एक शिलाश्रय से ५०′ लम्बी एक सँकरी गुहा प्रकाश में आयी है जिसमें पाषाण कालीन मानव के आवासित होने के प्रमाण मिले हैं।

५—पाटनी के शिलाश्रय

यह शिलाश्रय बुदनी तहसील में ऊँचा खेड़ा से १२ कि० मी० उत्तर में भोपाल रेहटी मार्ग पर स्थित है। इस स्थल की समुद्र तल से ऊँचाई १७००′ है। सबसे आकर्षक महावराह की आकृति है जिसमें कई पुरुष धनुष बाण लेकर वराह पर आक्रमण करते हुए चित्रित हैं। अन्य चित्र शिकार से सम्बन्धित हैं।

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३. बी० एस० वाकणकर तथा आर० आर० ब्राक्स, **स्टोन एज पेन्टिंगस् इन इण्डिया**, बम्बई १९७६।

४. एम० एन० देश पाण्डे, **इण्डियन आर्कियोलोजी ए० रिव्यू १९७६-७७** दिल्ली।

५. वही,

६—ऊँचा खेड़ा शिलाश्रय

यह स्थल वांया से ७ कि० मी० दूर स्थित है। शिलाश्रय की समुद्रतल से ऊँचाई १८००' है। यहाँ कई शिलाश्रयों की खोज की गई है। एक शिलाश्रय में एक पंक्ति में हिरनों के चित्र अंकित हैं। एक दूसरे शिलाश्रय में नारी के नृत्य का चित्र है।

७—पाताल खोह शिलाश्रय

यह शिलाश्रय बुदनी से २ कि० मी० द० पूर्व की तरफ नर्मदा नदी के बाँये किनारे पर स्थित है। इस स्थल से समुद्र तल की ऊँचाई १७००' है। यहाँ कुल १० शिलाश्रय प्रकाश में आये हैं। यह स्थान तथा प्रसिद्ध आदम-गढ़ गुहा दोनों स्थलों की समुद्र तल से ऊँचाई बराबर है। पाताल खोह शिलाश्रय से लघु पाषाण उपकरण तथा पूर्व पाषाण काल के पाषाण उपकरण प्राप्त हुए हैं। अधिकांश शिलाश्रय-चित्रों में योद्धा ढाल-तलवार लिये हैं। तथा कुछ अन्य चित्र शिकार से सम्बन्धित हैं।

८—फिरंगी का चौतरा शिलाश्रय

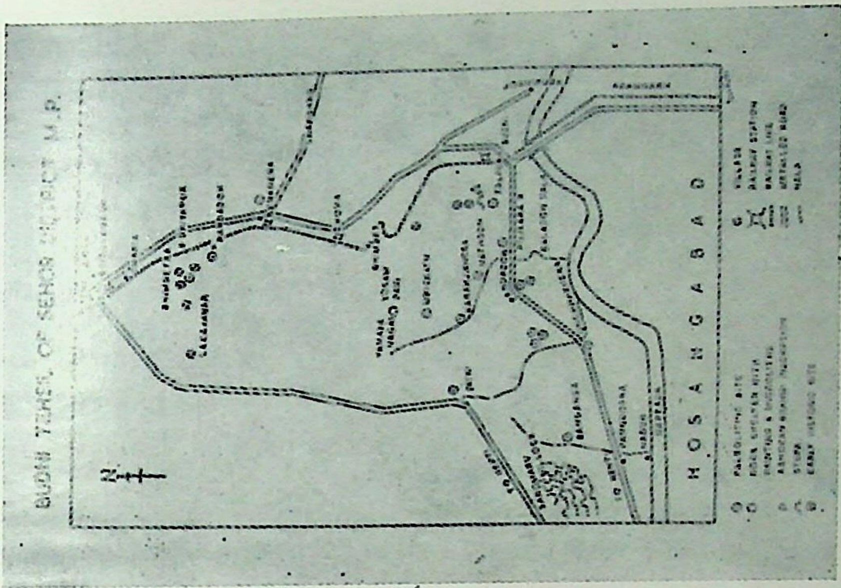
यह स्थल भोपाल के समीप बेतवा नदी के उद्गम स्थान पर है। यहाँ से १० शिलाश्रय प्रकाश में आये हैं। इस स्थल की समुद्र तल से ऊँचाई १९००' है। एक शिलाश्रय में कूवड़ वाले साँड़ का चित्र विशेष महत्वपूर्ण है।

शिलाश्रयों का निर्माण

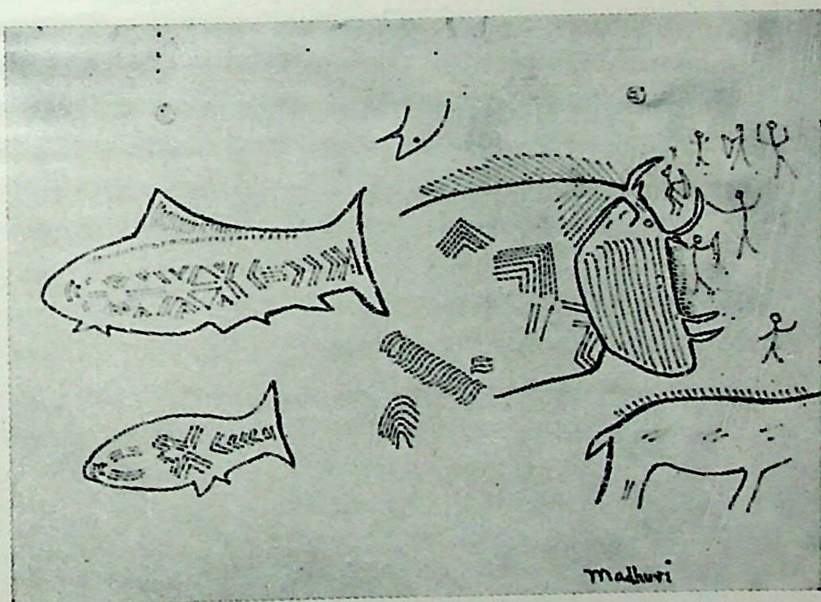
इन शिलाश्रयों का निर्माण विन्ध्य पर्वत शृङ्खलाओं के अपरदन के कारण हुआ तथा शिलाश्रयों एवं कंदराओं को पाषाण कालीन मानव ने अपना आवासस्थल बनाया तथा शिलाश्रयों को निर्मित किया। सबसे आश्चर्य की बात है कि ये शिलाचित्र २०,००० वर्ष तक प्राचीन हैं, किन्तु फिर भी आज ये सुरक्षित हैं। इनके सुरक्षित रहने के पीछे एक कारण यह भी है कि जब गेरू रंग को ब्रुश से विन्ध्य के बालूदार शिलापट पर चित्रित किया गया तो गेरू रंग में मौजूद लोहे के कण तथा बालूदार शिलापट में मौजूद सिलिका में रासायनिक क्रिया हुयी, जिसके फलस्वरूप एक बहुत ही दृढ़ रासायनिक पदार्थ का निर्माण हुआ जो शिलापट में जोरों से चिपक गया। जब पानी द्वारा इन चित्रों को गीला करके रगड़ा जाता है तो इन पर मौजूद धूल एवं चूने की पर्त हट जाती है और वह चित्र स्पष्ट दिखने लगता है।

शिलाचित्रों को बनाने का कारण

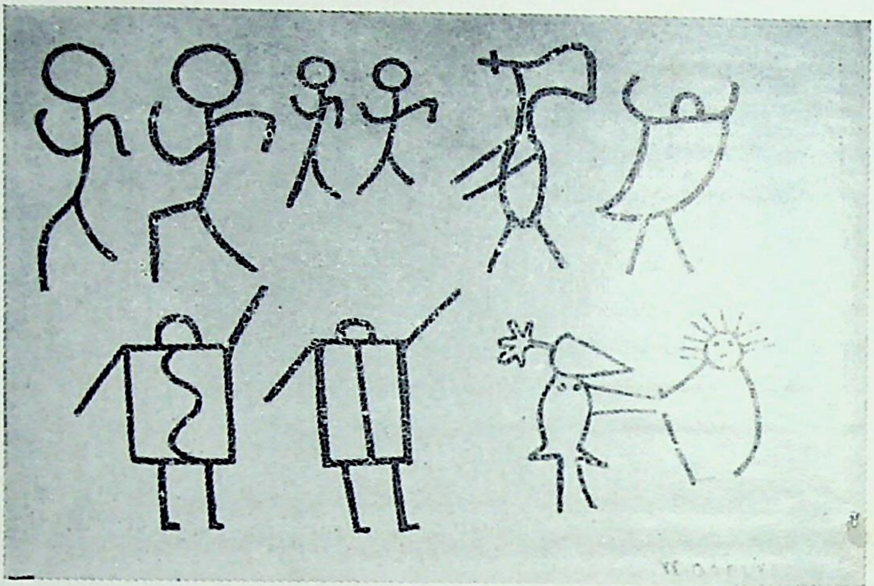
कुछ विद्वानों की धारणा है कि प्रागैतिहासिक मानव ने गुहा को अलंकृत करने के लिए इन शिलाचित्रों का निर्माण किया। यहाँ के शिलाचित्रों में कई 'सुपर



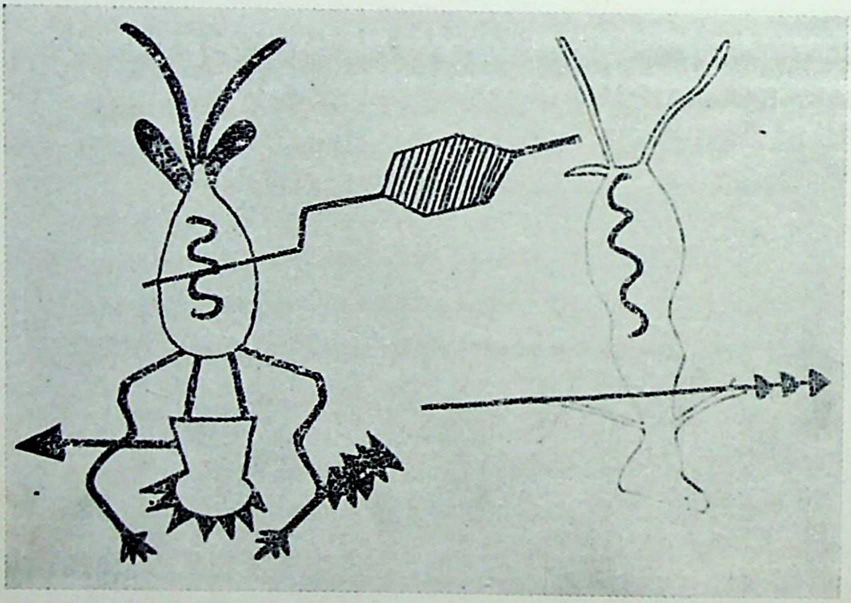
बुदनी तहसील का मानचित्र



(१) वाया के शिला-चित्र (२) पाटनी के शिला-चित्र



ऊँचा खेडा के शिला-चित्र



वाया के शिला-चित्र

इम्पोजीशन' (एक चित्र के ऊपर दूसरे) बने हैं। यदि मानव अलंकार ही कर रहा था तो उसने पूर्व निर्मित शिलाचित्रों के ऊपर पुनः दूसरे चित्र बनाकर पहले के चित्रों को क्यों नष्ट किया ? कुछ विद्वानों के अनुसार शिलाश्रय में स्थान की कमी के कारण उसने पूर्व निर्मित चित्र के ऊपर दूसरे चित्र बना कर पुनः अलंकरण किया। यह 'सुपर इम्पोजीशन' (एक पर एक चित्र) विभिन्न कालों में अलंकरण किये गये हैं। कुछ पुराविद् इन्हें जादू या धर्म से सम्बन्धित मानते हैं। वास्तव में पाषाण कालीन मानव ने जानवरों का शिकार एवं अपने जीवन से सम्बन्धित घटनाओं को शिलाचित्रों में चित्रित किया। इसको मात्र उसकी अभिरुचि की संज्ञा दी जा सकती है।

शिलाचित्रों को बनाने की विधि

इन शिलाचित्रों में ४ प्रकार के रंगों का प्रयोग हुआ है। मुख्य रंग लाल, सफेद और हरे हैं। यह रंग प्राकृतिक खनिज है, जो पास की खदानों में तथा आस-पास की निचली घाटियों में उपलब्ध है। लाल रंग के गेरू (हेमाटाइट) का प्रयोग अधिक हुआ है। इन खनिज रंगों को पानी में घोलकर उसमें गोंद या चरबी मिलाकर 'वाटर कलर' जैसे गीले रंग का लेप तैयार किया जाता था। चट्टानों की सतह पर बिना किसी तैयारी के प्रागैतिहासिक मानव पतले ब्रुश से चित्रकारी करता था। उच्च पूर्व पाषाण काल में चित्रकार पाषाण के उपकरण ब्यूरीन से (छेनी जैसी) पहले शिलाश्रय में उकेरता था। पहले जानवरों की बाह्य रेखा बनाकर फिर उसमें रंग एवं डिजाइन से चित्रित करता था। उत्खनन से हरे वा लाल रंग के खनिज गुहा से भी प्राप्त हुए हैं। चूंकि इन खनिज खण्डों में घिसने के निशान हैं, इसलिये यह सम्भावना की जा सकती है कि प्रागैतिहासिक मानव ने इन खनिजों को घिस करके शिलाचित्रों के लिए रंग तैयार किया होगा। चित्रण में जिस ब्रुश का प्रयोग हुआ है वह पेड़ की डाल को छील कर बनाये गये होंगे। ये चित्र अधिकतर एक रंग के हैं। कुछ बहुरंगी भी हैं। कहीं कहीं एक साथ तीन रंगों का प्रयोग है। प्रायः ये रंग पारदर्शी हैं। पाषाण काल के बाद के काल के शिलाचित्रों में अपारदर्शक रंगों का प्रयोग हुआ है। सफेद चित्र ज्यादा बाद के हैं। लाल रंग के चित्र अधिक प्राचीन हैं। पतले तथा मोटे दोनों प्रकार के ब्रुश या कूंची का व्यवहार हुआ है। जो चित्र अधिक ऊँचाई पर बने हैं, उनको बनाने के लिये पेड़ पर चढ़ कर प्रागैतिहासिक मानव ने चित्रण किया होगा।

शिलाचित्रों का कालक्रम ज्ञात करना

शिलाचित्रों की तिथि, उनका अपरदन, उन पर बनी रासायनिक परत, उनके घर्षण आदि की भौतिक दशाओं का सूक्ष्म अध्ययन करके उनकी वैज्ञानिक विधि द्वारा तिथि निकाली जा सकती है। यूरोप के पुराविद् वहाँ के शिलाचित्रों की तिथि निकालने में वैज्ञानिक विधियों का प्रयोग करते हैं। लेकिन भारत में इस तरह का विश्लेषण

कार्य नहीं हुआ है । भीम बैठका के चित्रों की तिथि उत्खनन में मिली सामग्री तथा शैलचित्रों को उनसे सम्बन्धित करके, एक परत के ऊपर बने दूसरे चित्र को विभिन्न काल का मानकर, तथा शिलाचित्रों की विषय-वस्तु का अध्ययन करके निश्चित किया गया है । कभी-कभी उत्खनन से बड़े-बड़े शिलाखण्ड प्राप्त होते हैं । उनको और उसमें बने शिलाचित्रों को भी, उसी स्तर की सह-सामग्री के आधार पर उसी स्तर-काल का माना जा सकता है ।

कला की प्राचीनता

होमोसेपियन प्रथम मानव था जिसे वास्तव में कला का जन्मदाता मान सकते हैं । इसी मानव को सर्व प्रथम चित्रकला, इन्ग्रेविंग तथा मूर्तिकला की जानकारी थी ।[६]

यूरोप में हमें उच्च पूर्व पाषाण काल की कला के प्रमाण मिलते हैं । वहाँ गुहा-चित्र जानवरों के इनग्रेविंग, पकी मिट्टी का बैल, हड्डी की बनी कलाकृतियाँ, पत्थर की मूर्तियाँ उच्च पूर्व पाषाण में मिले हैं । भारत में मेसोलिथिक काल में कला के प्रमाण मिलने लगते हैं, किन्तु विगत तीन चार वर्षों में भारत में भी उच्च पूर्व पाषाण काल में कला के प्रमाण मिले हैं । प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के प्राचीन इतिहास विभाग को बेलन घाटी (इलाहाबाद) से सीमेंन्टेड ग्रेवन III (उच्च पूर्व पाषाण कालीन स्तर) से हड्डी की मातृदेवी प्राप्त हुई है, तथा इस स्तर की सी-१४ तिथि १९०६५ बी० पी० ज्ञात हुई है ।[७] डा० संकालिया इसे उपज की देवी या मातृ देवी बताते हैं तथा इसका सम्बन्ध पश्चिम एशिया तथा यूरोप से मिली मातृदेवी की मूर्ति से स्थापित करते हैं ।[८] उच्च पूर्व पाषाण काल में भारत में कला के प्रमाण अन्य स्थानों में भी मिले हैं । डा० एस० ए० साली को पाटने नामक स्थान से शुतुर्मुर्ग के अण्डे पर इसी तरह इनग्रेविंग के प्रमाण मिले हैं ।[९] डां० वाकणकर को भीम बैठका शिलाश्रय एफ २४ से पाषाण कालीन स्तर से हरे रंग के घिसे हुए रंग के टुकड़े प्राप्त हुए हैं । डा० वाकणकर की धारणा है कि भीम बैठका के हरे रंग के चित्र उच्च पूर्व पाषाण काल

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६. एफ० बोर्ड, **वर्ल्ड आर्कियोलोजी**, लन्दन ।

७. बी० डी० मिश्रा, **सम आसपेक्ट्स ऑफ प्री हिस्ट्री** (इलाहाबाद १९७७) पृ० ५ ।

८. एच० डी० साँकलिया, **प्री हिस्टारिक आर्ट इन इण्डिया** (पूना १९७८) पृ० ५ ।

९. देखिये क्रम संख्या ७ ।

के हैं।[१०] भीम बैठका III एफ २३[११] शिलाश्रयों से आदमगढ़[१२] जिला होशंगाबाद, मिर्जापुर के लेखनियाँ[१३] आदि स्थलों से उत्खनन से मध्य पाषाणिक स्तर के घिसे हुए खनिज रंग के टुकड़े प्राप्त हुए हैं, जिनको पाषाण कालीन मानव ने शिलाचित्र बनाने में प्रयोग किया था। आदमगढ़ की सी-१४ तिथि ५५०० बी० सी०[१४] भीम बैठका की ५००० बी० सी० तिथि ज्ञात हुई है तथा ये रंग उसके नीचे स्तर से उत्खनन द्वारा प्राप्त हुए हैं। इसलिये इन शिला चित्रों की तिथि ५५०० बी० सी० तक प्राचीन मानी जा सकती है, क्योंकि हमें सी-१४ तिथि भी उतनी ही प्राचीन प्राप्त हो रही है।[१५] उत्तर प्रदेश के प्रतापगढ़ जिले में महदहा नामक स्थल के उत्खनन से लगभग १०००० वर्ष पुराने नरकंकाल प्रकाश में आये हैं। इन मुर्दों के साथ हड्डी के आभूषण, गले के हार तथा कानों के कुण्डल प्राप्त हुये हैं।[१६] ये मुर्दे प्राग्पॉटरी मेसोलिथिक काल के हैं। शवों के साथ कानों में कुण्डल आदि आभूषण यूरोप आदि में भी पाषाण कालीन मुर्दे की समाधियों में प्रतिष्ठित किये जाते थे।[१७]

बालूदार पत्थर की बनी मातृदेवी की मूर्ति यूरोप में आस्ट्रिया से प्राप्त हुई है। फ्रांस में हाथी दाँत की मातृदेवी की मूर्तियाँ मिली हैं। चेकोस्लाविया में भी हाथी दाँत पर बनी मातृदेवी प्राप्त हुयी है। उपरोक्त सभी मूर्तियाँ अग्रीनीशियन काल

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१०. वी० एस० वाकणकर, **प्राच्य प्रतिभा**, वा० १११ नं० २ (भोपाल १९७५) पृ० १४।

११. वी० एन० मिश्रा तथा अन्य, **भीम बैठका प्री हिस्टारिकल मैन एण्ड हिज़ आर्ट इन सेन्ट्रल इण्डिया** (पूना १९७७)।

१२. आर० वी० जोशी, **अशिलियन सवोसन इन सेन्ट्रल इण्डिया : एशियन पर्सपेक्टिव** (१९७७, पृ० १५६)।

१३. आर० के० वर्मा, **स्टोन एज कल्चर ऑफ मिर्जापुर**, अप्रकाशित पी० एच० डी० शोध ग्रन्थ प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय में १९६४ में प्रस्तुत।

१४. देखिये क्रम संख्या ७।

१५. देखिये क्रम संख्या ७।

१६. गोवर्धन राय शर्मा तथा अन्य, **फ्राम हंटिंग फूडगैदरिंग टू डोमिस्टीकेशन ऑफ प्लान्ट एण्ड एनिमल, बिगनिंग ऑफ एग्रीकल्चर** (इलाहाबाद १९८०)।

१७. रोबर्ट माइरन, **प्री हिस्टारिक आर्ट**, पृ० २, ४।

१५००० वर्ष प्राचीन हैं। भारत में भी १६००० बी० सी० पुरानी हड्डी की मातृदेवी वेलनघाटी (इलाहाबाद) से प्राप्त हुई है किन्तु उच्च पूर्व पाषाण की मूर्तियाँ भारत मे किसी स्थान से उपलब्ध नहीं हुई हैं।[१८] जहाँ तक पकी मिट्टी की मूर्ति का सम्बन्ध है, मिट्टी का सुअर २ फिट लम्बा यूरोप से मेगडेलियन काल (१५०००-१०००० बी० सी०) के सन्दर्भ में कई स्थानों से प्राप्त हुआ है।[१९] भारत में यूरोप की तरह पकी मिट्टी की मूर्ति के प्रमाण उच्च पूर्व पाषाण काल या मैसोलिथिक काल के स्तरों से प्राप्त नहीं हुए हैं। उत्तरी पश्चिम भारत (विलोचिस्तान) से पकी मिट्टी मातृदेवी की मूर्ति प्राप्त हुई है। इसमें मातृदेवी का मुख मुर्गी की तरह है तथा वक्षस्थल पर फूलों का हार है। कुली नामक स्थल से एक बैल जो पकी मिट्टी का बना है, प्राप्त हुआ है। यह भारत की प्राचीनतम पकी मिट्टी की मूर्ति का प्रमाण है। इनकी तिथि ३००० ई० पू० निर्धारित की गई है।[२०] भारत में मध्य पाषाण काल में ही (५०००-बी० सी०) चित्रित डिजाइनदार मृद्भाण्ड के प्रमाण (इलाहाबाद) से प्राप्त हुये हैं।[२१] इसलिये भविष्य में भारत में पकी मिट्टी भी की मूर्तियों के प्रमाण मध्य पाषाण काल तक मिलने की सम्भावना मानों जा सकती है।

यूरोप तथा भारत के शिलाचित्रों में अन्तर

यूरोप के शिलाचित्रों एवं भारत के शिलाचित्रों में प्रमुख अन्तर यह है कि वहाँ गुहा आज पर्यटक केन्द्र के रूप में विकसित हो गयी है जबकि भारत में इस क्षेत्र में नगण्य कार्य हुआ है। यूरोप के चित्र भारत से ज्यादा प्राचीन हैं। यूरोप की गुहा में मध्य पाषाण काल के पूर्व नरकंकाल प्रकाश में आये हैं किन्तु भारत में प्राप्त नहीं हुए हैं। भारत में यूरोप जैसी कई मील लम्बी गुफाओं का अभाव है। बस्तर जिले में कुछ नई गुफायें प्रकाश में आयी हैं, लेकिन वहाँ प्रागैतिहासिक शिलाचित्र प्राप्त नहीं हुए हैं। भारत में शिलाश्रय को कुरेद कर चित्र यूरोप की तुलना में कम हैं। यूरोप की प्रागैतिहासिक चित्रकला एक निश्चित युग में समाप्त हो गई है लेकिन विश्व के दूसरे क्षेत्र भारत, अफ्रीका, आस्ट्रेलिया आदि में यह चित्रकला एक काल तक सीमित न होकर दीर्घ काल तक निर्बाध गति से चलती रही।

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१८. गोवर्धन राय शर्मा, **द गंगा वैली एण्ड द विन्ध्य** (इलाहाबाद १६८०)।

१९. देखिये क्रम संख्या १७।

२०. एम० के० थोवलीकर, **मास्टर पीसेज ऑफ इण्डियन टेराकोटा** (बम्बई १६७८)।

२१. देखिये क्रम संख्या १६।

प्रारम्भिक बौद्ध साहित्य में परम्परागत सामाजिक विभाजन

देवी प्रसाद दुवे एवम् प्रभा त्रिपाठी
वाराणसी

Lord Buddha condemned the principle of caste by birth; what counts is one's deeds and merits. But in Buddhist literature there are mentions of the *brāhmaṇas* and *kṣatriyas* claiming their superiority to each other. What is most surprising is that even Buddha does not appear to be totally free from the caste-superiority complex.

त्रिपिटक में यद्यपि वैदिक हिन्दू वर्ण व्यवस्था का सैद्धान्तिक पक्ष प्रस्तुत नहीं किया गया है, तथापि व्यवहार में प्रचलित समाज के चार वर्णों और उनसे सम्बद्ध अनेकानेक जातियों की स्वीकृति अवश्य की गयी है। **मज्झिम निकाय**[1] के **कण्णकथाल सुत्त** में क्षत्रिय, ब्राह्मण, वैश्य और शूद्र में प्रथम दो को आसनदान, हाथ जोड़कर अभिवादन तथा संवाद के लिये अधिक योग्य कहा गया है। **त्रिपिटक** के प्रारम्भिक अंशों के अतिरिक्त **जातकों** में स्थिति और भी स्पष्ट रूप से दिखाई देती है। एक जातक[2] के अनुसार ब्रह्मा ने ब्राह्मणों को अध्ययन के लिये, क्षत्रियों को आज्ञा देने के लिये, वैश्यों को कृषि करने के लिये, और शूद्रों को अन्य लोगों की आज्ञाओं को मानने के लिये ही पैदा किया। **सीलविमंस जातक** (सं० २१०) के अनुसार जाति और वर्ण मनुष्य का समाज में स्थान निश्चित करने के आधार हैं किन्तु **त्रिपिटक** के प्रायः

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१. हिन्दी अनुवाद, सुत्त सं० १० पृ० ३७२, तुलनीय **विनयपिटक**—९-१-४। वहाँ कथित है कि, जैसे गंगा, यमुना, सरयू, अचिरावती और मही जैसी महानदियाँ समुद्र में गिरकर अस्तित्व खो देती हैं, उसी प्रकार हे भिक्षुओं! क्षत्रिय, ब्राह्मण, वैश्य जातियाँ गृहत्याग के बाद भिक्षु हो जाने पर अपनी जाति छोड़कर समग कहलाने लगती हैं।

२. **जातक**, फॉलबॉल, जि० ६, पृ० २०७।

सभी स्थानों पर जन्म से अधिक महत्व कर्म को दिया गया है। **अंगुत्तर निकाय**[३] में कथित है, "**कम्मस्सकोम्हि, कम्मदायादो, कम्मयोनि, कम्मबन्धु, कम्मपटिसरणो, यं कम्म करिस्सामि कल्याणं वा पापकं वा तस्स दायादो भविस्सामीति अभिवहं पच्चवेक्खतब्बं गहट्ठेन वा पब्बजितेन वा।**" अर्थात् जो कुछ भी है, "कर्म ही है, कर्म ही दायाद है; कर्म ही से उत्पत्ति है, कर्म ही बन्धु है, कर्म ही शरण-स्थान है, जो भी अच्छा बुरा कर्म करूँगा, उसका मैं उत्तराधिकारी होऊँगा।"

तथापि रतिलाल मेहता और हॉपकिन्स का यह निष्कर्ष स्वीकार किया जा सकता है कि, "उस समय के समाज के सुधारवादी वर्ग ने चाहे जितना ही प्रयत्न किया हो और आजकल की ही तरह जन्म, जाति, वेद और ब्राह्मणों की महत्ता को चाहे जितना भी कम आँकने का प्रयत्न किया हो तथा मुक्ति के लिये गुण और कर्म की विशेषता के लिये चाहे जो भी जोर दिया हो, समाज का उपर्युक्त चार वर्णों में विभाजन एक वास्तविक तथ्य था[४]।" रिचर्ड फिक[५] के अनुसार बौद्ध लेखकों ने कहीं भी जाति (वर्ग) व्यवस्था का विरोध कर एक नये सामाजिक संगठन की स्थापना का प्रयत्न नहीं किया। उनका प्रयत्न केवल इस लक्ष्य तक सीमित था कि वे यह दिखायें कि मुक्ति के लिये जाति का कोई भी मूल्य नहीं है।

इस परम्परागत सामाजिक विभाजन के अनुसार ही पालि साहित्य के अनेक स्थलों पर हम ब्राह्मणों को अपनी श्रेष्ठता का दावा प्रदर्शित करते हुए पाते हैं। मधुर अवन्ति पुत्र कहता है कि ब्राह्मण ही श्रेष्ठ वर्ण है, शुक्ल वर्ण है, पवित्र है। ब्रह्मा के मुख से उनकी उत्पत्ति है, वही ब्रह्मा का प्रतिनिधि है[६]। वास्तव में जातिवाद की

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३. **अंगुत्तर निकाय, पंचक निपात**, द्वितीय पण्णासक, १.७।

४. हॉपकिन्स, **कैम्ब्रिज हिस्ट्री ऑफ इण्डिया**, जिल्द १ पृ० २७०। रतिलाल मेहता, **प्री बुद्धिस्ट इण्डिया** पृ० २४५,। कुछ वर्ष पूर्व प्रायः इसी प्रकार का मत नृपेन्द्र कुमार दत्त महोदय ने अपनी पुस्तक **ओरिजिन एण्ड ग्रोथ ऑफ कास्ट इन इण्डिया** में व्यक्त किया था। देखिये कलकत्ता प्रकाशन १९६२, पृ० २१५-२१६।

५. **दि सोशल आर्गनाइजेशन इन नार्थ ईस्ट इण्डिया इन बुद्धाज् टाइम** पुनर्मुद्रित १९७२, पृ० ३१। उदाहरण के लिये देखिये **सुत्तनिपात** १७ . २२ . २४ में उल्लिखित चाण्डाल जाति के मातंग नामक सत्पुरुष की कथा, जो अपने तपोवल से पूज्य बन गये थे, और जिनकी सेवा बहुत से उंच्चकुलीन ब्राह्मण और क्षत्रिय किया करते थे।

६. **मज्झिमनिकाय** हिन्दी अनुबाद, पृ० ३४३।

भावना तत्कालीन समाज में इतनी बद्धमूल थी कि उसका विरोध करने वाले अपनी उच्चकुलीनता को भुलाने के लिये तैयार नहीं थे। **अंगुत्तर निकाय** और **उदान** से ज्ञात होता है कि अनेक भिक्षु अपने को ब्राह्मण भिक्षु अथवा उच्चकुलोत्पन्न भिक्षु ही कहलाना चाहते थे[७]। स्वयं बुद्ध के जन्म की बातें जहाँ-जहाँ कही गयी हैं, वहाँ उनके जन्म के लिये क्षत्रिय कुल ही श्रेष्ठ बताया गया है[८]। बड़ा स्पष्ट है कि बुद्ध और उनके अनुयायियों में ब्राह्मणों की तरह ही अपने वर्ण अथवा जाति की विशेषता का भाव, जाति सम्बन्धी सुधारवाद की सारी बातों के होते हुए भी बना हुआ था।

भगवान् बुद्ध की शिक्षाओं का एक पक्ष यह था कि केवल जन्म के आधार पर किसी व्यक्ति की विशेषता अथवा उसकी उच्चता न स्वीकार की जाये, बल्कि उसके गुण और कर्म पर विशेष बल दिया जाये। वास्तव में तत्कालीन समाज के दो ऊपरी वर्ण, ब्राह्मण और क्षत्रिय, उत्पत्ति के कारण अपने गौरव और महत्व को दूसरों पर लादना चाहते थे और उस आधार पर समाज में अनेक सुविधायें एवं महत्तायें प्राप्त करना चाहते थे। बुद्ध जिस शाक्य कुल में पैदा हुए थे, वह अपने को ब्राह्मणों की अपेक्षा अधिक उत्तम तो मानता ही था, क्षत्रियों में भी अपने को सर्वश्रेष्ठ समझता था। इस प्रकार ब्राह्मणों और क्षत्रियों की अपनी श्रेष्ठता के दावे **बौद्ध साहित्य** के अनेक स्थलों पर दिखायी पड़ते हैं। **अम्बष्ठ सुत्त** में ब्राह्मण विद्यार्थी अम्बष्ठ शाक्यों की इस बात के लिये निन्दा करता है कि वे उसके, उनके संस्थागार में पहुँचने पर उसे बैठने के लिये स्थान देना तो दूर रहा, उससे सीधे मुँह बात तक नहीं करते। इस बात का जब वह बुद्ध से प्रतिवाद करता है तो बुद्ध भी उसकी श्रेष्ठता के दावे पर चोट करते हुए उसकी ओछी उत्पत्ति को दिखाने का प्रयत्न करते हैं[९]। इसी प्रकार जब ब्राह्मण अस्सलायन उनसे ब्राह्मणों के वर्चस्व का दावा करता है, तब भी वे उस दावे का खण्डन करते हैं[१०]। तथापि अपनी श्रेष्ठता के भाव के कारण ही अनेक अवसरों पर ब्राह्मण लोग बुद्ध को या तो "भो गौतम ! कहकर सम्बोधित करते हैं अथवा कभी-कभी अप्रसन्न होने पर "समण" शब्द मात्र से सम्बोधित करते हैं[११]।

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७. **अंगुत्तर निकाय**, जि० १, पृ० १६; **उदान**, हिन्दी अनुवाद, पृ० १-६।

८. **जातक**, फांसबाल संस्करण, जि० १, पृ० ४६।

९. **दीघनिकाय**, हिन्दी अनुवाद, पृ० ३५-३७।

१०. **मज्झिमनिकाय**. हिन्दी अनुवाद, पृ० ३६०-३६१।

११. **दीघनिकाय** पाटेसो, भाग १, पृ० १०८, ११८, १२६ और १३५, **मज्झिमनिकाय**, पाटेसो पृ० १६५-१६८, **अंगुत्तर निकाय**, पाटेसो भाग ४ पृ० ४१-४६, **संयुत्त निकाय**, पाटेसो, जि० पृ० २१७-२१६।

ब्राह्मण और क्षत्रियों का अपनी-अपनी सामाजिक महत्ता प्रदर्शित करने का यह भाव सारे बौद्ध साहित्य में देखने को मिलता है। इसके पीछे मूलतः केवल जन्म-मात्र से प्रधान अथवा महत्त्वपूर्ण होने का भाव विद्यमान था। बुद्ध जन्म से ब्राह्मणों की श्रेष्ठता के इस दावे को चुनौती देते हुए कर्म की महत्ता का जहाँ उपदेश देते हैं, वहाँ वे यह कहते हैं कि जहाँ केवल जन्म से ही श्रेष्ठता का आधार माना जाये, वहाँ भी क्षत्रिय ही ब्राह्मणों से श्रेष्ठ है।[१२] इस सम्बन्ध में फिक महोदय का यह मत है कि बुद्ध का यह वक्तव्य ब्राह्मणों के अपने वर्चस्व के दावे की प्रतिक्रिया के रूप में ही लिया जाना चाहिये।[१३] किन्तु शाक्यों में प्रचलित जाति के वर्चस्व और श्रेष्ठता की भावना के परिप्रेक्ष्य में बुद्ध के उपर्युक्त कथन को केवल प्रतिक्रिया मात्र नहीं माना जा सकता।

तथापि बुद्ध को इस बात का श्रेय दिया जाना चाहिये कि उन्होंने जन्मना जाति के सिद्धान्त पर कठोर आघात किया तथा चरित्र, कर्म और गुण को महत्त्व प्रदान करते हुए ही किसी व्यक्ति की श्रेष्ठता को स्वीकार करने का उपदेश दिया। **सुत्तपिटक** के अनेक संदर्भ इस सम्बन्ध में बड़े प्रमुख रूप से सामने आते हैं। उदाहरण के लिये **मज्झिम निकाय** का **वासेट्ठसुत्त**, **दीघनिकाय** का **अम्बट्ठसुत्त** और **अगञ्ञसुत्त**. **सुत्तनिपात** का **वसलसुत्त** और **सुन्दरिक भारद्वाजसुत्त** तथा **धम्मपद** के अनेक स्थल इसमें प्रमुख हैं। इसी तरह उन्होंने उसी को सच्चा ब्राह्मण माना जो तप, ब्रह्मचर्य, संयम और इन्द्रियसंयम जैसे गुणों से युक्त हो।[१४] उनके अनुसार सच्चा ब्राह्मण वही है जो मातृ और पितृ दोनों पक्षों से उत्तम कुल में उत्पन्न हुआ हो, वेदों को पढ़ाता हो, मंत्र ज्ञाता हो, चारों वेदों को जानता हो, सुदर्शन हो, अच्छे आचरण वाला हो, पण्डित हो, तीक्ष्ण बुद्धि हो और यज्ञ की दक्षिणा प्राप्त करने वाले अधिकारी लोगों में प्रथम अथवा द्वितीय स्थान रखता हो।[१५] **उद्दालक जातक** (सं० ४८७) के अनुसार क्षत्रिय, ब्राह्मण, वैश्य, शूद्र, चाण्डाल अथवा पक्कस भी दयालु हों तो निर्वाण प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। **सील विमंसजातक**[१६] के अनुसार जाति और वर्ण की भावना से

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१२. **दीघनिकाय**, भाग १, बम्बई विश्वविद्यालय प्रकाशन, पृ० १११।

१३. देखिये रिचर्ड, पूर्व निर्दिष्ट, पृ० ८५।

१४. श्लोक सं० २७, ६२। **सुत्तनिपात**, मूलपालि और हिन्दी अनुवाद पृ० १६५ और १७१ में इसी सम्बन्ध में **सुत्तनिपात** का **ब्राह्मणधम्मिक सुत्त**, पृ० ७३-७८ और **धम्मपद** का **ब्राह्मणवग्गो**, पृ० २४७-२७६ भी देखिये।

१५. **दीघनिकाय**, हिन्दी अनुवाद, पृ० ४५।

१६. **जातक** सं० ३६२, हिन्दी अनुवाद, पृ० ३५६-३५७ की गाथायें, सं० ११ से १५ तक उपर्युक्त प्रकार का भाव प्रकट करती हैं और देखिये **अम्बजातक** सं० ४७४।

केवल घमण्ड पैदा होता है। वास्तव में शील अथवा गुण ही सर्वोत्तम है। यदि क्षत्रिय, ब्राह्मण, शूद्र, चाण्डाल और पक्कसों ने भी उत्तम शील युक्त व्यवहार किया है तो वे सभी देवयोनि में उत्पन्न होने के अधिकारी हैं।

बुद्ध के उपदेशों में और सामान्य रूप से प्रारम्भिक बौद्ध धर्म में वर्ण-व्यवस्था की तीन दृष्टिकोणों से आलोचना है और मनुष्यमात्र की समता का उपदेश है। प्रथम तो यह सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादित है कि चूँकि मनुष्यों में पशु-पक्षियों और पेड़-पौधों की भाँति अलग-अलग निश्चित प्रकार नहीं होते, इसलिये मनुष्यमात्र को एक जाति का मानना चाहिये।[१७] इसी तर्क का अश्वघोष की तथाकथित वज्रसूची में प्रचुर विस्तार मिलता है। वास्तव में सम्भवतः सम्पूर्ण बौद्ध वाङ्मय में इसी ग्रन्थ के सूक्ष्म तर्कों का ब्राह्मण अर्थव्यवस्था पर सबसे तीखा और आश्चर्यकर प्रहार है। इस आलोचना का दूसरे प्रकार का उद्देश्य यह था कि सृष्टि और समाज की उत्पत्ति के माध्यम से यह स्थापित किया जाये कि सभी प्राणी एक ही मूल के हैं, जिसमें बाद में कर्म और आचरण के कारण अन्तर पड़ गया।

तीसरा तर्क बौद्ध धर्म के सम्पूर्ण दृष्टिकोण में लक्षित है, और वह यह है कि जीवन के चरम लक्ष्य दुःख-निवृत्ति या निर्वाण प्राप्त करने के सभी मनुष्य समान अधिकारी हैं और उचित मार्ग का अनुसरण कर उसे वे प्राप्त कर सकते हैं।[१८]

किन्तु बुद्ध के आदर्श वचनों का वर्ण और जाति के सम्बन्ध में, जन्म की महत्ता सम्बन्धी सिद्धान्त पर क्या प्रभाव पड़ा अथवा सामाजिक अवधारणाओं में वे कोई गुणात्मक परिवर्तन ला सके या नहीं, इस मत पर विवाद हो सकता है। कुछ विद्वानों के मत में उनके उपदेशों का भिक्षु-संघ के अतिरिक्त अन्यत्र कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ा।[१९] किन्तु इस सम्बन्ध में किसी निर्णयात्मक साक्ष्य के अभाव में कुछ निश्चित मत नहीं बनाया जा सकता।

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१७. देखिये **सुत्तनिपात** का **वासेट्ठसुत्त**।

१८. **उद्दालक जातक** सं० ४८७।

१९. देखिये, मदन मोहन सिंह, **बुद्धकालीन समाज और धर्म**, पटना, १९७२, पृ० १४-१५।

ऋग्वेद में भावात्मक देव : एक विहंगम दृष्टि

डॉ० श्रीमती वीना मिश्रा

इलाहाबाद

In later *Ṛgvedic sūktas*, the tendency of abstract deities that is, deification of emotions, ideas, and even certain qualities of nature gods, may be noticed. *Manyu śraddhā*, *Vāk*, Aditi, Prajāpati, Hiraṇyagarbha etc. belong to this category.

वैदिक देवकल्पना के अन्तर्गत, मंत्रों के माध्यम से मूर्त और अमूर्त दो प्रकार के देवों की अभिव्यक्ति हुई है। अनन्त प्राकृतिक शक्तियों को जब हम मानवीकरण की प्रक्रिया के अन्तर्गत उनके शारीरिक रूपों के साथ उनकी अनन्त शक्तियों की चर्चा करते हैं तब हम उन्हें विग्रहवान् या मूर्त देवताओं के अन्तर्गत स्वीकार करते हैं, और जब इसके विपरीत के नाम की अभिव्यक्ति गुण आदि के द्वारा करते हैं किन्तु उस नाम में कहीं भी रूपात्मक प्रक्रिया का समावेश नहीं होता तब हम उन्हें अमूर्त या भावात्मक देवताओं के रूप में स्वीकार करते हैं। इस प्रकार ऐसे देवता जिनका आधार प्राकृतिक दृश्य या प्रकृति में घटने वाली क्रियायें हैं मूर्त देवता के अन्तर्गत आते हैं तथा अनेक ऐसे देवता जिनका आधार प्राकृतिक दृश्य या उनमें घटने वाली क्रियायें नहीं हैं उन्हें अमूर्त भावात्मक देवों के अन्तर्गत स्वीकार करते हैं। मन्यु, श्रद्धा, प्रजापति, वाक्, प्राण, काल, अदिति आदि कुछ ऐसे वैदिक देवता हैं जिनकी रूपात्मक प्रक्रिया स्पष्ट नहीं है केवल भावात्मक रूपों में ही उनकी आराधनायें हैं और कभी-कभी ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि विग्रहवान् देवों के अनेक गुणों को ही धीरे-धीरे विकसित कर भावात्मक देवताओं का रूप दे दिया गया। इस प्रकार एक अलग देवकल्पना ने विकास किया।

ऋग्वेद के परवर्ती सूक्तों (दशम मण्डल) में ऋषियों की प्रवृत्ति या विचार-धारा ऐसे किसी एक पूर्णरूपेण अमूर्त अथवा भावात्मक देवता की ओर जाती हुई दृष्टिगत होती है। इस एक देव को वे कभी "तनुकर्ता" (त्वष्टा) कभी "संसार की रचना करने वाला" (विश्वकर्मा), कभी "प्राणियों का स्वामी" (प्रजापति), कभी "संसार का स्कम्भन करने वाला" (स्कम्भ) आदि कहते हैं। ऋग्वेद के यही देव

भावात्मक देवों की कल्पना का ज्वलन्त उदाहरण है। ऋग्वैदिक देवों की स्थूल से सूक्ष्म तथा मूर्त से अमूर्त की ओर विकसित विचारधारा ने ही भावात्मक देवों की कल्पना को जन्म दिया। विभिन्न विद्वानों ने भावात्मक देवताओं की विभिन्न श्रेणियों का उल्लेख भी किया है। इसमें मनोभावों के मानवीकृत देवों में मन्यु, श्रद्धा आदि परिगणित हैं, श्री, पुरंधि, धिषणा, इडा आदि स्पृहणीय स्थितियों के भावात्मक देवों के अन्तर्गत आते हैं, सृष्टि की रचना में सहायक धाता, त्वष्टा, विश्वकर्मा आदि तथा सृष्टिकर्ता व सृष्टिव्यापी देवों के अन्तर्गत अदिति, वाक्, प्रजापति हिरण्यगर्भ, काल आदि भावात्मक देव आते हैं। जब हम किसी देवता के मन्यु (क्रोध या तेज) के प्रति भय, श्रद्धा या आदर का भाव व्यक्त करते हैं तो वह भावात्मक अभिव्यक्ति उस विशेष देवता के उस विशेष भाव के लिये होती है और धीरे-धीरे उसका वही भाव देवत्व की कोटि ग्रहण करने लगता है। ऐसे ही मानसिक भावों में चेतनता का आधान कर उन विशिष्ट भावों को भी देवता का स्वरूप प्रदान किया जाता है। ऐसे ही मन्यु प्रथमतः देवताओं के तेजस् प्रकाश, दीप्तिभाव, क्रोध आदि का व्यञ्जक है वही धीरे-धीरे भय, श्रद्धा आदि का भाजन हो जाता है। **ऋग्वेद** में मन्यु शब्द क्रोध, दीप्ति, वध या हनन आदि अर्थ का द्योतक है। मन्यु ज्ञानजन्य ऐसी प्रतिक्रिया है जो तीक्ष्ण गति प्रदान करती है मनस् को भी तथा शरीर को भी। यह स्वयं दीप्त है तथा अपनी दीप्ति का द्योतन भी करता है, इसका अनुभव निश्चित रूप से अन्य को भी होता है। यह प्रकाशमान है तपस् का पुत्र है "मन्युर्नाम तपसः पुत्र ऋषिः"। अपनी प्रकाशमानता को प्रकट करने के लिये गतिशील अधिकरण की आवश्यकता के कारण ऋग्वेद में इसका मुख्य अधिकरण गतिशील देव इन्द्र तथा अग्नि हैं इसलिये इन देवों के साथ मन्यु का बहुशः उल्लेख है। **ऋग्वेद** के दो सूक्तों (ऋ० १०.८३ तथा ८४) में इस मन्यु का देवस्वरूप स्पष्ट है वह "स्वयंभू" "विश्वचर्षणिः" तथा शत्रुहन्ता है। "हनन" अर्थ में मन्यु का प्रयोग इसलिये हुआ है क्योंकि इसी मन्यु के कारण शस्त्रादि प्रकाशित होते हैं—"अस्मात् मन्योः मध्यमात् देवात् इषवः मन्यन्ति क्रुद्धात् अवदीप्यन्तः परान् हिन्सन्ति।" युद्ध के समय इसका आह्वान किया जाता है इस कारण **अथर्ववेद** में यह सेना का देवता है। सेना के संयोजन में संयोजनकर्ता के रूप में मन्यु का स्वरूप वर्णन **अथर्ववेद** के दो सूक्त (अथर्व० ४-३१ तथा १-३२) करते हैं जहाँ वह "सेनानी" तथा "वज्रसायक" है। इसके लिये प्रयुक्त सूक्तों से इसके गतिशील प्रकाशमानता का मूल अर्थ ही द्योतित होता है। "श्रद्धा" मन के स्थायी भाव का द्योतक है, जिसमें देवत्व का आधान किया गया है। "**श्रत्**" (सत्यनाम, विश्वास) के आधान (√धा "धारणे) अथवा उसकी स्वीकृति का मानसिक रूप ही श्रद्धा है। ऋग्वेद के अनेक प्रयोगों में श्रद्धा का प्रयोग श्रत्, सत्य, तपस आदि के प्रसंग में हुआ है। जिसमें अपना विश्वास निहित किया गया हो उनके प्रति निहित विश्वास का ही मानवीकरण 'श्रद्धा' है। ऋग्वेद में एक सम्पूर्ण सूक्त (ऋ० १०-१५१) में यह

वाङ्नाम्नी, ब्रह्मविदुषी अंभृण ऋषि की दुहिता है और स्वयं अपनी ही प्रसंशा करती है। श्रद्धा से देवता आकृष्ट होते हैं। श्रद्धा के द्वारा देवगण देवत्व को प्राप्त करते हैं, वह लोक देवी है—"श्रद्धया देवी देवत्वम् अश्नुते। श्रद्धा प्रतिष्ठा लोकस्य देवी।" सम्पूर्ण यज्ञ प्रक्रिया में न्यायोचित प्राप्तियों में श्रद्धा सतत रूप से अपेक्षित है यह मन को स्थायी भाव की द्योतक होने के कारण ही सातत्य से जुड़ी हुई है। यज्ञकाल में, देवार्चन काल में श्रद्धा समान रूप से उपस्थित रहती है। यज्ञ का सम्बन्ध अग्नि से है, अग्नि का उदात्ततम रूप सूर्य है, सारी सृष्टि की प्रक्रिया तथा यज्ञ भी सूर्य से है, यज्ञ का सूर्य से तादात्म्य है, यज्ञ काल में अविनाभूत श्रद्धा यज्ञ-संकल्प से उत्पन्न हुई है, यज्ञ काल में उपस्थित रहने के कारण ही श्रद्धा तेजोमयी है और इसीलिये सूर्य की पुत्री है—"श्रद्धा वै सूर्यस्य दुहिता।" यद्यपि श्रद्धा अव्रात्यों से साक्षात् सम्बन्धित हैं किन्तु व्रात्यों की कल्याणकारी भी हो सकती है इसीलिये अथर्ववेद के व्रात्य-काण्ड में श्रद्धा को व्रात्यों का प्राणभूत माना है।

इसी प्रकार √कमु "कान्तौ" धातु से व्युत्पन्न "काम" शब्द कान्ति अर्थात् मृदु, सुन्दर तथा हृदय तेज का द्योतक है ऋषियों ने परमेश्वर के प्रथम उद्भावन या स्पन्द को कान्ति रूप माना। यह प्रथम स्पन्द सिसृक्षा या सृष्टि की इच्छा ही थी। यह सृष्टि की इच्छा रूपी कान्तिमय प्रथम स्पन्द हुआ इसलिये इच्छा रूप अर्थ के साथ काम का तादात्म्य हुआ। 'सिसृक्षा' सर्वाधिक कान्ति का रूप इच्छा है, कान्ति भी अव्यक्त पदार्थ है और इस प्रकार यह काम भी अव्यक्त ही है। ऋग्वेद के सन्दर्भ में यम-यमी संवाद के अन्तर्गत यह "काम" आन्तरिक इच्छा या सहगमन की इच्छा का द्योतक प्रतीत होता है। ऋग्वेद के "नासदीयसूक्त" तक आते-आते "काम" को सृष्टि के प्रथम बिन्दु के रूप में हम देखते हैं। परमेश्वर से "काम" की उत्पत्ति होती है और परमेश्वर ही जगत् की व्युत्पत्ति भी करता है। उस जगत् का कारक काम ही होता है इस प्रकार "काम" परमेश्वर जन्य जगत् का भी कारक होने के कारण व्यापार रूप, गतिरूप या स्पन्दरूप है—"वियदादिभावानां सृष्टिस्थिति-प्रलयादीनामत्र प्रतिपाद्यत्वात्तेषां कर्ता परमात्मा देवता"। 'काम' मन की वह कोमल इच्छा, भाव या स्पन्द है जो सृष्टि का कारक है। इस सिसृक्षा रूपी भाव में चेतनता का आधान कर "कामदेव" की कल्पना की गई।

ऋग्वेद के लगभग एक दर्जन ऋचाओं में अरमति शब्द पर्याप्त-बुद्धि या "प्रखर बुद्धि" के अर्थ का द्योतक है। यह बुद्धि की विशेष प्रकार की प्रखर अवस्था मात्र ही है जिसका वर्णन ऋषियों ने पूर्ण वैदिक देवी के रूप में नहीं किया है। प्रखर प्रज्ञा रूप होने के कारण विभिन्न देवों के साथ युक्त होकर तत् कार्यों में सहायक होती है।

इसी प्रकार देवों की अनुकूल बुद्धि में चेतनता का आधान कर "अनुमति" देवी की कल्पना की गई। ऋग्वेद के दशम मण्डल में देवी के रूप में "असुनीति"

देवी के साथ इनका उल्लेख है। यह ज्ञानरूपा हैं, पराश्रित होकर यज्ञ में आहूता है। **अथर्ववेद** उनके देवी स्वरूप का वर्णन एक सूक्त (**अथर्व०** ७-२१) में करता है। ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों तक आते-आते इनका तादात्म्य चन्द्र, द्यौ, गायत्री से हो जाता है और वह पूर्णमासी के प्रथम दिन की चन्द्रमा कहलाती है—"या पूर्णा पौर्णमासी सानुमतिः।" (ऐ० ब्रा० ७-११) देवों की सम्पूर्ण अनुकूल बुद्धि में ही चेतना का आधान कर अनुमति देवी की कल्पना की गई।

ऋग्वेद में क्रिया विशेष की द्योतक "असुनीति, निर्ऋति" आदि शब्दों में भी चेतनता का आधान कर देव स्वरूप प्रदान किया गया है। प्राणों (असु) को ले जाने और लाने की क्रिया की सम्पादिका ही असुनीति है। यह प्रकाशरूपा है। यह प्राणो को ले जाने वाली प्राण वायु है जिसके शरीर से निकल जाने से सभी प्राण निकल जाते हैं। ऋग्वेद में मात्र एक सूक्त (ऋ० १०-१२) इसको सम्बोधित है। **अथर्ववेद** के एक मंत्र में उसे "देव" कहा गया है जो प्राणों के अपहर्ता परवर्ती "यम" देव की ओर ले जाता है और ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों तक आते-आते असुनीति देवी का स्वरूप लुप्त हो जाता है और उसका स्थान "यम" देव ले लेते हैं।

ऋग्वैदिक "निर्ऋति" देवी जीवन की तीन अवस्थाओं (बाल्या, युवा, जरा) को निःशेष रूप से काटने तथा जीवन को मृत्यु के समीप तक ले जाने वाली क्रिया का ही मानवीकरण है। यह अन्धकारमयी तथा पाप देवी है—"निर्ऋतिः पाप्माना नाम देवता।" यह प्राणों का हरण कर सीधे मृत्यु से तादात्म्य स्थापित करती है। यह मृत्यु के द्वारा छोड़ी गई पाश स्वरूपा है जो अपने बन्धनों में प्राणी को बाँध कर मृत्यु के समीप ले जाती है इस प्रकार मृत्यु से इसका साक्षात् सम्बन्ध है इसको पृथक् देवी के रूप में हवि भी नहीं अर्पित है। ऋग्वेद में एक सूक्त (ऋ० १०-५९) इसको अर्पित है वह भीं मात्र विघ्न निवारणार्थ ही प्रतीत होता है। यह केवल विनाश को द्योतित करती है, विकास की अवरोधक है, इसीलिये इसको बाधित करने तथा दूर करने की प्रार्थना की जाती है। भूमि यद्यपि चैतन्यस्वरूप है किन्तु मृत्यु से सम्बन्धित होने पर वह भूमि की निर्ऋति स्वरूपा हो जाती है। ऐसी भूमि जहाँ अमांगलिक कार्य सम्पन्न होते हैं यथा श्मशान इत्यादि, "निर्ऋति" की द्योतक होती हैं इस प्रकार निर्ऋति का अर्थ भूमि भी किया है। मृत्यु तथा यम से साक्षात् सम्बन्ध होने के कारण इसकी दिशा दक्षिण पश्चिम है क्योंकि यम की दिशा दक्षिण तथा मृत्यु की दिशा पश्चिम है। इसे देवी रूप प्रदान कर इसके पाशों का उल्लेख है इसका दूत भी है जो कपोत है। परवर्ती साहित्य में यह भी लुप्त हो जाती है तथा इसका स्थान यम देव ग्रहण कर लेते हैं।

ऋग्वैदिक "सूनृत" शब्द ऋग्वेद में लगभग पचास मंत्रों में विशेषण तथा भाववाचक संज्ञा के रूप में आया है। "ऋत्" अपने आप में भाव रूप है इस प्रकार

'सूनृत्' (शोभन ऋत्) भी भाव रूपी है। चेतनता के आधान के साथ भाववाचक संज्ञा रूप "सूनृता" देवी का स्वरूप है और यह सूनृता शब्द उषा और वाक् की विशेषण बनकर धीरे-धीरे स्वयं देवी रूप को ग्रहण करती है। सुष्ठु ऋत् की द्योतक होने के कारण यह वह माध्यम है जिसके द्वारा देवों को प्रसन्न कर उनसे धनादि को प्राप्त करते हैं। यह धन की प्रदात्री (जवनी सूनृता) है। इसके लिये ऋग्वेद में एक भी सकल सूक्त नहीं है मात्र तीन मंत्रों में इसका देवी स्वरूप दृष्टिगत होता है। प्रिय-सत्यात्मिका वाक् होने के कारण ब्रह्मणस्पति, पुरंध्री, धी के साथ और सत्यरूप प्रदान करने वाले सूर्य, अग्नि के साथ इसका उल्लेख है। सूर्य प्रकाशित होकर राष्ट्र को सूनृतावत् (सत्यरूप) करता है, उसी प्रकार यह सूनृता भी स्वयं प्रकाशित है तथा लोक को प्रकाशित करती है। सूनृता शोभन ऋत युक्त प्रियसत्यात्मिकता वाक् का ही मानवीकृत रूप है। परवर्ती साहित्य में इसका प्रयोग न्यून है।

वैदिक ऋषियों ने कुछ ऐसे भावों में भी चेतनता का आधान किया जो सामाजिक स्पृहणीय स्थितियों के द्योतक हैं यथा श्री, पुरन्धि, धिषणा आदि। भाग्य, सम्पदा, ऐश्वर्य, शोभा आदि अर्थों से युक्त "श्री" शब्द नितान्त भावरूप है। उसे भी देवस्वरूप प्रदान किया गया है। ऋग्वेद में श्री शब्द का प्रयोग बहुशः है। वस्तुतः श्री के दैवी स्वरूप का आधार कोई भौतिक तत्त्व नहीं है, यह सभी प्रकार की विभूतियों के सम्मिलित तत्त्व का मानवीकरण है। इसकी उत्पत्ति प्रजापति से हुई। यज्ञ जैसे कार्यों से "श्री" की प्राप्ति होती है। स्वयं श्री ने भी अपनी समस्त विभूतियों को देवों के द्वारा यज्ञ के माध्यम से ही प्राप्त किया। सभी देवगण यजमान, प्राणी इस श्री को प्राप्त करना चाहते हैं।

"पुरन्धि" शब्द ऋग्वेद में प्रज्ञा, बुद्धि, अन्तश्चक्षु, अर्न्तदृष्टि का द्योतक है तथा उषा की विशेषण, तथा स्त्री की विशेषण के रूप में प्रयुक्त होकर धीरे-धीरे भावात्मक देवी के स्वरूप को भी धारण करती है। इसका तादात्म्य स्त्री के साथ है—"पुरन्धिर्योषा।" पुरन्धि युक्त स्त्री ही प्रिय होती है। "पुरधिर्योषिति"। योषित्येव रूपं दधाति तस्माद्रूपिणी युवतिः प्रिया भावुका (शतपथ ब्रा० १३.१.९.६) अर्थात् प्रज्ञा, बुद्धि, अर्न्तदृष्टि, वाक्, रूप, सौन्दर्य से युक्त स्त्री ही पुरंधि है और वही प्रिय होती है, इस प्रकार पुरंधि शब्द जो अपने विभिन्न रूपों में स्पृहणीय वस्तु का द्योतक था, शनैः शनैः चेतनता से युक्त होकर एक भाव देवी का रूप ग्रहण करती है। इसी प्रकार "धिषणा" शब्द जो ऋग्वेद में लगभग पचास से अधिक बार विभिन्न रूपों में प्रयुक्त है, धी, बुद्धि, प्रतिभा आदि का वाची होने के साथ ही साथ बारह बार देवी के रूप में वर्णित है। इसी के साथ ही "इडा" शब्द ऋग्वेद में विभिन्न अर्थों का द्योतक है यथा हविष् या अन्न, भूमि, स्तुति आदि। ऋग्वेद में एक भी सकल सूक्त इसे सम्बोधित नहीं है। अथर्ववेद में मात्र एक सूक्त के एक ही मंत्र में यह

"इडा" घृतपदी, शक्वरी, वैश्वदेवी आदि विशेषणों से युक्त होती है (अथर्व० ७.२८)। ऋग्वेद में यह अग्नि, भूमि, स्तुति आदि के विशेषण के रूप में प्रयुक्त है। तिस्रो देवी: के प्रसंग में इसका उल्लेख सरस्वती तथा भारती देवी के साथ बार-बार हुआ है। यह इडा जब अग्नि का संवर्द्धन करती है तब अन्न या हविष् स्वरूपा होती है, जब अग्नि को धारण करती है तब वेदि लक्षणा भूमि स्वरूपा है। इसका आह्वान यज्ञों में किया गया है। यह मनु की पुत्री होकर मानवीय समाज की शासिका है—इडा वै मानवी यज्ञानूकाशिन्यासीत् (तै० ब्रा० १.१ ४४)। स्तुति अर्थ में ऋग्वेद में प्रयुक्त "इडा" शब्द यज्ञ के समय अग्नि, वेदि हविष् से युक्त होकर घृतहस्ता (अनन्तकाल वाली), घृतपदी आदि विशेषणों से युक्त होकर देवी स्वरूप को धारण करती है। अनन्तकालिक यज्ञों का इडा (स्तुतियों) से साक्षात् सम्बन्ध है वह भी शतहिमा है। यज्ञों में इडा (स्तुति) आवश्यकीय है अतः यह स्पृहणीय है।

ऋग्वेद में ऐसे भी भावकृत देवों का उल्लेख है जो कर्तृत्व भाव से सम्बद्ध हैं। –तृ– प्रत्ययान्त तथा अन्य प्रत्ययान्त शब्द जो कर्तृत्व भाव के द्योतक हैं ऋग्वेद में कर्ता देव के रूप में हैं। ये सभी कर्तृत्व भाव से सम्बद्ध देव निर्माणकर्ता हैं किन्तु स्वयं के सम्यक् स्वरूप की परिकल्पना कहीं भी उनको स्पष्ट अभिव्यक्ति को नहीं प्राप्त कर सकी जिससे कि उनके शारीरिक स्वरूप का सम्यक् बोध हो सकता। इसीलिये हम उन्हें अमूर्त भावात्मक देवों की कोटि में परिगणित करते हैं।

कर्तृत्व-भाव से सम्बद्ध चेतन सत्ताओं में "त्वष्टा" देव, रूपनिर्माण, तनूकरण या रूप विशदीकरण (√तक्ष √त्वक्ष धातु) क्रिया के चेतन स्वरूप हैं। रूप निर्माण कल्पना की प्रक्रिया में प्रथम स्थान गर्भाधान का है जिसमें त्वष्टा अन्य देवों के साथ गर्भ में रूप के कर्ता हैं—

"विष्णुर्योनिं कल्पयतु त्वष्टा रूपाणि पिंशतु।
आ सिञ्चतु प्रजापतिर्धाता गर्भं दधातु ते॥"

(ऋ० १०.१८४)

ऋग्वेद में त्वष्टा शब्द ६५ बार उल्लिखित है किन्तु सकल सूक्त एक भी समर्पित नहीं है। **अथर्ववेद** तक आते-आते त्वष्टा देव तुष्टि, पुष्टि, आयु, भेषज तथा पुत्र के प्रदाता भी हैं। **ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण** में अग्निसोमीय याग के आप्री-सूक्तों के प्रसंग में त्वष्टा का तादात्म्यीकरण वाक् से है—"वाग्वै त्वष्टा अर्थात् वाक् ही त्वष्टा है। जिस प्रकार त्वष्टा बाह्यजगत् में रूप विशेष के सम्पादक हैं उसी प्रकार वाणी या वाक् भी बौद्ध जगत् में रूप विशेष की प्रकाशिका है। त्वष्टा विभिन्न स्थूल पदार्थों के सूक्ष्म रूपों का निर्माता है, वाणी भी स्थूल जगत् की सूक्ष्म रूप प्रदायिका है, इन्हीं सब हेतुओं के कारण ही वाक् को त्वष्टा कहा गया है।

"वाश्च तक्षणहेतुत्वात् त्वष्टत्वं तदेव वाक् हि इत्यनेन स्पष्टीक्रियते यस्मादिदं सर्वं जगद् वाक् ताष्टीव तक्षतीव यथा तक्ष्णेन काष्ठं प्रौढ़मपि सूक्ष्मं भवति। एवं महान्तोऽपि पर्वतादयोऽल्पेनैव शब्देन गृह्यन्ते। तदेतज्जगत्त्वष्टामिव भवति।"

कर्तृत्व भाव के सम्बद्ध चेतन सत्ताओं में "धाता" देव धारणक्रिया के चेतन स्वरूप हैं। सृष्टि प्रक्रिया में निर्मित सृष्टि को यथास्थान धारण किये रखकर उसमें निरन्तर गति प्रदान किये रखने के कार्य से धाता देव सम्बद्ध हैं। सायण धाता को— "सर्वस्य जगत उत्पादको" तथा "धाता सम्रष्टा" कहते हैं। ऋग्वेद के दशम मण्डल के एक गर्भ-धारण सूक्त में यह कहा गया है—

"धाता गर्भं दधातु ते"। सृष्टि प्रक्रिया में यह धारणा की प्रक्रिया ही प्रमुख है क्योंकि इसके द्वारा धारित रहकर ही अन्य सृष्टिकर्ता देव भी यथास्थान रहकर अपना कार्य करते हैं इसलिये कहा है—

"धाता धातृणां भुवनस्य यः पतिः।"

धाता समष्टि रूप से सृष्टि का धारण कर्ता है, वह सूर्य, चन्द्रमा, आकाश, पृथिवी, अन्तरिक्ष, जल आदि सभी का धारक है—

"धाता दाधार पृथिवीं धाता द्यामुत सूर्यम्।"

ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों में धाता सूर्य के ऊपर उठकर सूर्य की उपाधि को स्वयं ही धारण करते हैं—"यः सूर्यः सः धाता।" सूर्य सम्पूर्ण विश्व को प्रकाशित करता है उसी प्रकार धाता भी अपनी धारण शक्ति से विश्व को यथा स्थान रखकर प्रकाशित करता है। अतः सूर्य से धाता का तादात्मीकरण होने से सृष्टि के धारण शक्ति में भी गतिशीलता बनी रहती है। यह गतिशीलता ही संवत्सर है, इस प्रकार जो धाता है वही संवत्सर है। **ऋग्वेद** में "धाता" को एक भी सूक्त सम्बोधित नहीं है किन्तु **अथर्ववेद** में एक सूक्त धाता को समर्पित है। (अथर्व० ७.१८)।

"तृ" प्रत्ययान्त कर्तृत्व भाव के अन्तर्गत "त्राता" भी ऋग्वैदिक भावदेव की कोटि में परिगणित हैं। √त्रैङ् "पालने" धातु से निष्पन्न इस क्रिया भाव में तृच् प्र यय करके अमूर्त भाव देव "त्राता" की प्रतिष्ठा **ऋग्वेद** में है। "पालन"—एक प्रक्रिया है जो अदृश्य किन्तु अनुभूयमाण है, इस पालन की क्रिया का कर्ता अवश्यम्भावी है अतः इसी क्रिया में ही चेतनता का आधान कर भाव देव "त्राता" की कल्पना हुई। **ऋग्वेद** का मात्र एक मंत्र उसके देवस्वरूप का वर्णन करता है। अमूर्त भावात्मक देव अधिकांश स्थलों पर देवताओं से सम्बद्ध होकर ही तत्तत्कार्यों के सम्पादक कहे गये हैं, इस प्रकार त्राता भी अग्नि, इन्द्र से सम्बद्ध हैं। "त्राता" देव का स्वरूप परवर्ती साहित्य में लुप्तप्राय है।

"ले जाने", प्राप्त कराने, प्रेरित करने आदि क्रियाओं का द्योतक "नेतृ" शब्द में भी चेतनता का आधान कर "नेता" देव की उद्‌भावना हुई। अग्नि तथा सूर्य इस क्रिया के मुख्य सम्पादक हैं इसी कारण "नेता" देव का तादात्मीकरण इन्हीं देवों से स्पष्ट है।

कर्तृ देवों में सृष्टिकर्ता देव "विश्वकर्मा" ने अनारम्भित सृष्टि से इस सृष्टि का आरम्भ किया। सृष्टि सम्बन्धित देवों तथा इन्द्र, अग्नि, प्रजापति के साथ इनका उल्लेख मुख्य रूप से है। जो विश्व का कर्ता है वही विश्वकर्मा है, विश्वकर्मा का जगत्कर्तृत्व प्रसिद्ध है। सृष्टि प्रक्रिया के अन्तर्गत वह सभी का उत्पादक तथा पोषक हैं इसी कारण उन्हें विश्वकर्मा कहा गया है। यह जो वायु चलती है वह भी विश्वकर्मा है—"अयं वै वायुर्विश्वकर्मा—"। विश्व का कर्ता स्वयं शारीरिक अवयवों से रहित हो अमूर्त है। सृष्टिकर्ता होने के कारण ही इन्द्र भी विश्वकर्मा हैं। प्रजापति भी विश्वकर्मा है—"प्रजापतिर्विश्वकर्मा—"।

गतिशीलता या सरणशीलता के भाव का द्योतक "सरण्यू" शब्द ऋग्वेद में देवी है। यह "त्वष्टा" की पुत्री, "विवस्वान्" की पत्नी तथा "यम-यमी" तथा "अश्विनी" की माता है। त्वष्टा की पुत्री इसलिए है क्योंकि त्वष्टा के विशदीकरण में जो गतिशीलता है वही सरण्यू है। यह गतिशीलता चेतन में ही संभव है और चेतन का सम्बन्ध प्रकाश से अवश्यंभावी है और यह प्रकाश ही विवस्वान् है जो पति रूपमें सरण्यू से सम्बद्ध है। इन्हीं दोनों के संयोग मात्र से ही गतिशीलता तथा सरणशीलता के द्योतक यम-यमी तथा अश्वी रूप धारिणी तथा अश्वरूपधारी विवस्वान् से अश्विनौ (√अश् "व्याप्तौ") की उत्पत्ति हुई। यह सरण्यू देवी परवर्ती वैदिक साहित्य में लुप्त हो गई है।

अदिति, वाक्, प्राण, काल, हिरण्यगर्भ, स्कम्भ आदि ऐसे ही अमूर्त भावात्मक देव सृष्टिव्यापी या सृष्टिकर्ता देवों के अन्तर्गत आते हैं। ऋग्वेद में "अदिति" देवी असीम सत्ता का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाली देवी है। अदिति देवी की कल्पना आदित्यों की माता के रूप में की गई है। आदित्य प्रकाश के देवता हैं अतः उनकी माता के रूप में निस्सीम प्रकाश की ही कल्पना की गई है। आकाश धरती तथा अन्य पदार्थों से भी जो परे है वही अदिति है। अनन्तता, बन्धनराहित्य, निस्सीमता के भाव में ही चेतनता का आधान कर 'अदिति' देवी की कल्पना की गई। ऋग्वेद के दशम मण्डल में एक सूक्त (ऋ० १०.१५२) वाग्देवी को सम्बोधित है। इस सूक्त का देवता मूल सृष्टिकर्ता परमात्मा है तथा "वाक्" इस सूक्त की ऋषि है लेकिन परमात्मा से तादात्म्य स्थापित कर लेने के कारण ही वाक् अपनी स्तुति स्वयं ही करती है— 'अंभृणस्य महर्षेर्दुहिता' वाङ्नाम्नी ब्रह्मविदुषी स्वात्मानमस्तौत् अतः सार्षिः।

सच्चित्सुखात्मकः सर्वगतः परमात्मा देवता । तेन ह्येषा तादात्म्यमनुभवंती सर्वजगद्रूपेण सर्वस्याधिष्ठानत्वेन चाहमेव सर्वं भवामीति स्वात्मानं स्तौति" जगत् के सभी पदार्थ तथा उन सभी पदार्थों का प्रारम्भ वाक् के ही द्वारा होता है। यज्ञ, यज्ञेतर, शुभ, अशुभ आदि सभी रूपों में इसका आधान किया गया है। ब्रह्मरूपा वाक् वागम्भृणी देवी के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित होकर स्वयं को सृष्टि की धात्री-विधात्री के रूप में व्यक्त करती है। वाग्देवी के साथ प्रजापति सृष्टिकर्ता परमेष्ठी हैं।

'प्रजापति' देव गर्भ में रेतस् कर आधान का सृष्टि विषयी प्रथम कार्य को सम्पादित करते हैं। ऋग्वेद के कुछ मंत्रों में प्रजापति का नामोल्लेख है जो उसके अवान्तरकालीन विकास के लिए सूत्र रूप में है। **ऋग्वेद** में यही प्रजापति "रोहित" है, उसे प्रथम बार 'ब्रह्मा" कहा गया है। सृष्टि के गर्भ में स्वयं को समाहित कर अनेक रूपों में उत्पन्न होते हुये अपने अर्धभाग से समस्त सृष्टि तथा अर्ध भाग को उत्पन्न कर शेष अर्धभाग से स्वर्गलोक में सूर्य रूप में प्रतिष्ठित है। ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों में प्रजापति का तादात्म्य काल, वाक् आदि के साथ किया गया है। ऋग्वेद में समय सामान्य का वाची "काल" शब्द **अथर्ववेद** में आकर एक देव स्वरूप को धारण करता है। यह काल तेजोमय है तथा सृष्टि का अधिष्ठाता तथा जनक है। सृष्टि, स्थिति, विनाश तीनों ही कार्यों का कारक काल ही है। सृष्टि की सभी क्रियाओं का संचालक है सभी इसी "काल" में समाहित है। यह काल गतिशीलता का द्योतक है जब इसे अश्व कहा जाता है "कालो अश्वो वहति—" तब यह और कुछ नहीं वरन् सृष्टि व्यापी सूर्य ही है। जिस प्रकार काल "सृष्टि" का मुख्य कर्ता है उसी प्रकार "प्राण" भी सृष्टि का धारण-कर्ता तथा सृष्टिव्यापी है। यह शरीरेतर वायु "प्राण" से भिन्न शरीरस्थ चेतन सत्ता है जो वायु रूप में है। इसी प्राण वायु की सूक्ष्म अवधारणा ही इसको प्राणदेव के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित करती है। इस सृष्टि का धारण कर्ता "स्कम्भ" देव की भी कल्पना स्कम्भन् क्रिया में ही चेतनता का आधान कर की गई है। सृष्टि के सभी उपादान गतिशील होते हुये भी अपने-अपने कार्यों को करते हुये अपनी ही परिधि में स्थित रहते हैं यह स्कम्भन का कार्य स्कम्भ देव का ही है यदि यह देव न हो तो सृष्टि की स्तंभिता ही असंभव हो जाय। इस प्रकार सृष्टि के कारक देवों में इन सभी सूक्ष्म अवधारणाओं को भी देव स्वरूप प्रदान किया गया और ये सभी अमूर्त भावात्मक देवों की ही कोटि में परिगणित किये जाते हैं।

पाणिनीय व्याकरण में इत्संज्ञा का प्रयोग :
शास्त्रीय विधा का अनूठा निदर्शन

डॉ० वी० के० सिंह

इलाहाबाद

The indicatory letters, attached to the roots, called *'it'*, and designated as *anubandha* by Kāśikākāra, though disappear in the condition of application, regulate the concerned word and become instrumental in bringing the desired meaning. It's function is that of a reminder.

व्याकरणशास्त्र की दो प्रक्रियायें हैं—विश्लेषण और संश्लेषण। विश्लेषणात्मक विधा में प्रकृति-प्रत्यय के रूप में लोकव्यवहृत शब्दों के मूल तत्त्वों का पता लगाया जाता है जिससे अर्थबोध सरल बनाया जा सके तथा संश्लेषणात्मक प्रक्रिया में प्रकृति-प्रत्यय के माध्यम से लोकप्रयुक्त शब्द की सिद्धि की जाती है। इन दोनों ही प्रक्रियाओं में कतिपय तथ्य, निष्कर्ष एवं रहस्य उद्घाटित होते हैं जिनके आधार पर शब्द शास्त्रीय सिद्धान्तों का प्रणयन होता है। इस सारे अध्ययन को सुबोध बनाने के लिए अनेक संज्ञाओं, परिभाषाओं आदि का सहारा लिया जाता है। अतएव महर्षि पाणिनि ने भी 'अष्टाध्यायी' में नदी, सर्वनाम, सार्वधातुक, टि, घु, घ प्रभृति अनेक संज्ञाओं का प्रयोग किया है। इन्हीं में से एक संज्ञा है—इत्। महाभाष्यकार के शब्दों में सम्यक् ज्ञान सत्ता है और इसका प्रयोजन है लघुता।[1]

अष्टाध्यायी में इत् संज्ञा का कोई लक्षण नहीं दिया गया है अपितु इत्संज्ञक वर्णोंका परिगणन ही कर दिया गया है। परिगणक सूत्र ६ (छः) हैं—

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१. संज्ञानं संज्ञा—महाभाष्य १.२ ५३
लघ्वर्थं हि संज्ञाकरणमिच्छन्त्याचार्या —महा० १.१.१

१.	उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत्	१. ३. २
२.	हलन्त्यम्	१. ३. ३
३.	आदिर्ञिटुडवः	१. ३. ५
४.	षः प्रत्ययस्य	१. ३. ६
५.	चुटू	१. ३. ७
६.	लशक्वतद्धिते	१. ३. ८

इत्संज्ञा का फल है लोप—तस्य लोपः १. ३. ९ अर्थात व्यवहारदशा में उस इत्संज्ञक का दृष्टिगोचर न होना।[1] अदृश्य रहकर भी वे स्वसम्बद्ध शब्द को अनेक प्रकार से नियन्त्रित करते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए स्तुत्यः पद की सिद्धि में स्तु + क्यप् की दशा में क् तथा प् की इत्संज्ञा और लोप हो जाता है परन्तु प्रत्यय के कित् होने से ही गुण नहीं होता[2] तथा पित् होने से ही तुक् का आगम हो जाता है।[3] फलतः 'स्तुत्य.' पद सिद्ध होता है । इस प्रकार, ऐसे वर्ण जो प्रयोगदशा में दिखलाई नहीं पड़ते फिर भी जिनके उपयोग से सरलतापूर्वक अभीष्ट सिद्धि हो जाती है, वे इत् कहलाते हैं।[4]

महाभाष्यकार ने पाणिनीय संज्ञाओं को दो वर्गों में बाँटा है—अकृत्रिम एवं कृत्रिम। अकृत्रिम संज्ञाओं से तात्पर्य उन संज्ञाओं से है जिनका अर्थ व्यवहारलभ्य है तथा कृत्रिम संज्ञा वह है जो केवल शास्त्रसम्मत है—

इह हि व्याकरणे ये चैते लोके प्रतीतपदार्थका शब्दास्तैर्निदेशः[5] क्रियते—

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१. अदर्शनं लोपः —१.१.६०

२. क्ङिति च—१.१.५

३. ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् —६.१. ७१

४. प्रयोगे ये न दृश्यन्ते उपदिष्टा वर्णाः स्वयम् ।
अभीष्टं साधयन्त्यूनमिद्रूपेण च ते स्मृताः ॥

५. निर्देशः व्यवहारः —उद्योत (महाभाष्य १. ४.२३)

पशुरपत्यं देवदत्त इति, याश्चैताः कृत्रिमाष्टिघुभसंज्ञास्ताभिः[1]—महाभाष्य १. ४. २३.

संज्ञाओं के वस्तुनिर्देश (denotation) के आधार पर उनके तीन वर्ग बनाये जा सकते हैं[2]—

शब्द संज्ञा

अर्थ संज्ञा

धर्म संज्ञा

शब्द संज्ञा में विशिष्ट शब्दों का ग्रहण होता है[3] जबकि अर्थ संज्ञा में केवल अर्थ का।[4] धर्मसंज्ञा विशिष्ट शब्द या अर्थ का द्योतन न करके किसी वर्ण विशेष के गुणों का संकेत करती है।[5] उदाहरण के लिये वृद्धि (१ १ १), गुण (१. १. २), प्रगृह्य (१. १. ११ आदि), प्रभृति संज्ञायें शब्द संज्ञा हैं; विभाषा (१. १. ४४), लोप (१. १ ६०), संहिता (१. ४. १०९) आदि संज्ञायें अर्थसंज्ञा हैं और उदात्त (१. २. २९), अनुदात्त (१. २. ३०) तथा स्वरित (१. २ ३१) धर्मसंज्ञा।

शब्दकौस्तुभकार का कथन है कि महती संज्ञायें अन्वर्थ होती हैं।[6] उदाहरणार्थ सर्वनाम संज्ञा अन्वर्थ है क्योंकि प्रधान प्रसिद्ध स्वीय सर्वार्थवाचक 'सर्व', 'विश्व' आदि शब्द ही सकल नाम प्रातिपदिक के स्थान पर आने के कारण सर्वनाम कहलाते हैं।[7] सर्वनाम कहलाने के लिये सर्वादिगण में पठित होने के साथ-साथ उनकी

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१. कृत्रिमा शास्त्रीया पारिभाषिकीत्युच्यते—पुण्यराज, वहीं

२. स्टडीज इन पाणिनि, एच० पी० द्विवेदी, पृष्ठ ३०-३१.

३. शब्दसंज्ञायां शब्दस्यैव सम्प्रत्ययो भवति नार्थस्य—महाभाष्य १.४.४३.

४. नवेति विभाषायामर्थस्य संज्ञा कर्त्तव्या। न वा शब्दस्य योऽर्थस्तस्य संज्ञा भवतीति वक्तव्यम्। —वही

५. लोकवेदयोरुदात्तादयः शब्दाः वर्णानां यो धर्मो गुणस्तत्रैव प्रसिद्धा, न तु तद्वत्यचि, तस्मादिह व्याकरणे उदात्तादयः धर्मो यस्याचस्तद्गुणे चि संज्ञायन्ते परिभाष्यन्ते।

—न्यास १.२.२९.

६. महासंज्ञाकरणमन्वर्थसंज्ञाविज्ञानार्थम्।—शब्दकौस्तुभ १.१.७

७. सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि— १.१.२७

सर्वार्थवाचकता भी अपेक्षित होती है । इस मान्यता का तात्पर्य यह हुआ कि टि, घु, प्रभृति लघुसंज्ञायें अन्वर्थ न होकर केवल शास्त्रीय प्रयोजन वाली हैं और उनके अर्थानुसन्धान का प्रयास व्यर्थ है ।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन के आधार पर इत्संज्ञा को कृत्रिम तथा शाब्दी मानना पड़ेगा । अब प्रश्न यह है कि क्या 'इत्' संज्ञा टि, घु, घ की तरह सर्वथा अर्थविहीन है । व्युत्पत्ति की दृष्टि से, 'इत्' शब्द को इकार में तपर योग (**तपरस्तत्कालस्य**--१. १. ७०) से निष्पन्न माना जा माना जा सकता है परन्तु ऐसी स्थिति में वह (इत्) केवल इकार का बोधक होगा शेष (इत्संज्ञक) वर्णों का नहीं । यदि यह कहा जाय कि पारिभाषिक संज्ञा होने से वह सबका बोध करा देगा तो यह उचित नहीं है क्योंकि एक सूत्र—**इदितो नुम धातोः** ७. १. ५८-- में इत् (इकार) के इत् का स्पष्ट कथन हुआ है अर्थात दोनों इत् एक नहीं हैं । दूसरे शब्दों में यहाँ इत् शब्द को 'तपर' योग से निष्पन्न नहीं माना जा सकता । वस्तुतः इत् शब्द '**इक् स्मरणे**' धातु में '**क्विप् च**' ३. २. ७६ सूत्र से कर्त्ता अर्थ में **क्विप्** (0) प्रत्यय के योग से (निष्पन्न) है । क्विप् का सर्वापहारी लोप हो जायेगा फिर भी उसके **पित्** होने से तुक् (तकार) का आगम[1] होगा । इस प्रकार निष्पन्न 'इत्' शब्द का अर्थ होगा स्मरण दिलाने वाला—'**स्मारयतीति इत्**' । चूँकि इत्संज्ञक वर्ण प्रयोगदशा में लुप्त होकर भी किसी न किसी कार्य की सूचना देते हैं, अतएव उनका 'स्मारक' इत् कहा जाना सर्वथा उचित है ।

काशिकाकार ने इत् को ही अनुबन्ध कहा है—**हकारादिष्वकार उच्चारणार्थो नानुबन्धः । लकारे त्वित्संज्ञकः प्रतिज्ञायते** (प्रत्याहार सूत्र ६) । अनुबन्ध शब्द का अर्थ है '**अनु पश्चात् बध्यत इति अनुबन्धः**' अर्थ है चूँकि केवल अन्त में ही इनका प्रयोग नहीं होता तथा प्रत्यय, आदेश, आगम, धातु आदि सर्वत्र इनका प्रयोग होता है इसलिए अनुबन्ध शब्द की दूसरी व्युत्पत्ति की जाती है—**बन्धमनुगत** । जैसे कि **नासिकामनुगतः अनुनासिकः** । यद्यपि अनुबन्ध नाम भी सार्थक है और प्रायः इसी नाम से इतों को जाना जाता है तथापि **इत्** संज्ञा पाणिनि द्वारा प्रयुक्त होने तथा विभिन्न कार्यों के प्रति सचेत कराने की दृष्टि से अधिक उपयुक्त है ।

ध्यातव्य है कि सार्थक होने पर भी इत् संज्ञा पूर्णतया शास्त्रीय आवश्यकता से निर्मित है । अभिप्राय यह है कि शब्दों के वैरूप्य के कारण उससे सम्बन्धित किसी नियम का प्रतिपादन असुविधाजनक होता है किन्तु यदि उनका कोई समूह

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१. **ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक्**—६.१.७१

बना लिया जाय तो उनके नियामक तथ्यों को प्रस्तुत करना सरल हो जाता है। उदाहरण के लिए राम, श्याम, बालक आदि शब्द एक दूसरे से भिन्न हैं। इनके आधार पर 'रामाय', 'श्यामाय' और 'बालकाय की सिद्धि का सूत्र खोजना आसान नहीं लगता परन्तु जब इनकी समानता-अकारान्त होने-का ज्ञान हो गया तो इनसे सम्बद्ध '**ङे र्यः**' इत्यादि नियमों का प्रतिपादन पर्याप्त सरल हो गया। इसी साम्यान्वेषण की चरम परिणति है—**इत्संज्ञा**। जहाँ प्रकृति-प्रत्यय विषयक किसी भी प्रकार का साम्य दृष्टिगोचर नहीं होता वहाँ साम्य अथवा समूहनिर्माण के लिए **इत्संज्ञक** वर्णों का प्रयोग करके शास्त्रीय आवश्यकता की पूर्ति की गयी है। जैसे '**भंगुरम्**' (भञ्ज् + उर--३. २. १६१), '**कुण्डिनी**' (कुण्डिन् + ई -- ४. १. ५) तथा '**बहुपटुः**' (पटु + बहु -- ३ ४. ६८) तीनों अन्त उदात्त हैं परन्तु इनमें प्रकृति-प्रत्यय की समानता को कौन कहे, लिंग तक की भी समानता नहीं है। ऐसी दशा में इनके 'अन्त उदात्तत्व' का नियमन कैसे हो—यह एक विचारणीय समस्या हुई। इसका समाधान उपर्युक्त स्थलों (उर = घुरच्, ई = ङीप् तथा बहु = बहुच्) पर चकार इत् की व्यवस्था करके किया गया और नियम बनाया गया कि चित्प्रत्ययविशिष्ट शब्द का न्त्य स्वर उदात्त होता है (चित -- ६. १. १६२)। इस प्रकार इत् वर्ण असम्भव को भी सम्भव बनाकर अभीष्ट सिद्धि में सहायक होते है। यही कारण है कि व्याकरण के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र -- प्रत्याहार, प्रत्यय, आदेश, आगम एवं धातु आदि - में **इत्** दिखलाई पड़ते हैं। इतों के द्वारा निर्दिष्ट प्रमुख कार्य अधोलिखित हैं—

१. सामान्य ग्रहणार्थ
२. सामान्य ग्रहणाविघातार्थ
३. विशेषणार्थ
४. परित्राणार्थ
५. स्थान निर्देश (देश विध्यर्थ)
६. प्रत्याहार निर्माण
७. विधि (नियम) प्रतिपादन
८. पदबोध
९. स्वरबोध आदि

अष्टाध्यायी में **इत्** तथा उनसे निर्दिष्ट कार्यों की सूची इस प्रकार है—

इत्प्रयोजन

१. अ (अत-अदित्) धातुः १-३-१२ ; ७२ पदबोध[1]

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१. सामान्यतया वर्णमाला के व्यञ्जनों में अकार अनुबन्ध उच्चारणार्थक है परन्तु धातुओं में यह पद (आत्मने तथा परस्मैपद) सूचक है।

१. आ (आत्-आदित्) धातु	:	३-२-१८७ निष्ठायोग में इट् (आगम) प्रतिषेध (त्रिफला = फल् – प्रफुल्ल)
२. इ (इत्-इदित्) धातु	:	७-१-५८ नुम् (न्) आगम (विदि = विन्द्-विन्दति)
कृत्	:	मनिन् (मन्) उच्चारणार्थ (उपधागत)[1]
	:	क्वनिप् (वन्) उच्चारणार्थ (उपधागत)
	:	ण्वि (०) उच्चारणार्थ एवं विशेषणार्थ[2]
	:	इनि (इन्) नकारपरित्राणार्थ[3]
	:	णिनि (इन्) नकारपरित्राणार्थ
तद्धित	:	अस्ताति (अस्तात्) तकार परित्राणार्थ
	:	विनि (विन्) नकार परित्राणार्थ
	:	तसि (तस्) सकार परित्राणार्थ
	:	च्वि (०) उच्चारणार्थ एवं विशेषणार्थ
विकरण	:	तासि (तास्) सकार परित्राणार्थ
सुप्	:	ङसि (अस्) ङस् (षष्ठी ए० व०) से पार्थक्य के लिए[4]
३. ई (ईत्-ईदित्) धातु	:	७-२-१४ निष्ठायोग में इट् प्रतिषेध (चिती-चित्-चित्तम्)
४. उ (उत्-उदित्)	:	७-२-५६ क्त्वा जुड़ने पर विकल्प से इट् (क्रमु-क्रम्-क्रमिता क्रात्वा)

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१. उपधागत इकार केवल उच्चारण के प्रयोजन से आबद्ध है। इसके साथ आने पर इत् (हल) का उच्चारण इसी पर अवलम्बित है।

२. ण्वि, क्विप्, क्विन्, च्वि आदि प्रत्ययों का उच्चारण इकार की सहायता से ही होता है इसलिये वह उच्चारणार्थ है; किन्तु **वेरपृक्तस्य** (६-१-६७) से वि (व = ०) के रूप में आये अपृक्त वकार का लोप होता है; फलतः वह विशेषणार्थ भी है।

३ हलन्त प्रत्ययों के अन्तिम हल् को लोप से बचाने के लिये इकार का प्रयोग हुआ है।

४. **न विभक्तौ तुस्माः** (१-३-४) से अन्त्य सकार पहले से ही सुरक्षित है। फलतः यहाँ इकार परित्राणार्थ नहीं है।

संज्ञा : कु, चु, टु, तु, पु : स्ववर्ग बोध

कृत् : क्तवतु (तवत्) : सर्वनाम स्थान प्रत्यय (सुप् के अन्तर्गत) के योग में नुम् (न्) का आगम (७-१-७०) तथा तकार परित्राणार्थ[1]

तद्धित : मतुप् (मत्) नुमागम तथा उपधागत होने से उच्चारणार्थ भी[2]

यमु (यम्) : मकार परित्राणार्थ

आदेश : असुङ् (अस्) उच्चारणार्थ
रू (र्) उच्चारणार्थ एवं विशेषणार्थ (६-१-११३, ११४)

सुम् : सु (स्) उच्चारणार्थ

आगम : तुक् (त्) उच्चारणार्थ
थक् (थ्) उच्चारणार्थ
सुट् (स्) उच्चारणार्थ
मुट् (म) उच्चारणार्थ
नुट (न) उच्चारणार्थ
नुम् (न) उच्चारणार्थ
मुम् (म) उच्चारणार्थ

६. ऊ (ऊत्-ऊदित्) : धातु : ७-२-४४ वलादि आर्धधातुक को विकल्प से इट् (गुप्-गोप्ता, गोपिता)

७. ऋ (ऋत्-ऋदित्) धातु: ७-४-२ णि+वङ् प्रत्यय परे रहने पर उपधा को ह्रस्वादेश का निषेध (लोकृ-लोक्-आलुलोकत

कृत् : अतृन (अतृ) नुम् आगाम (जरन्-जृष्+तृन
शतृ (अत्) नुमागम (पचन्-पच्+शतृ)

आदेश : तृ (त्) ६. ४. १२७ नुमागम

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१. कृतवत् कृतवान् (प्रथमा ए० व०)

२. श्रीमत् श्रीमान्

८. ऌ (ऌत् ऌदित्) :धातु : ३-१-५५ च्लि को अङ् (अ) आदेश (गम्ऌ-गम्-अगमत्)

९. ए (एत्-एदित्): धातु : ७-२-५ आदिष्ट सिच् के परे रहने पर वृद्धि निषेध (कटे-कट्-अकटीत्)

१०. ओ (ओत्-ओदित्)धातु : ८-२-४५ निष्ठा तकार को नकार (भुजो-भुज् + क्त = भुग्नः[1])

११. इ(इरित्-संयुक्त इत्) धातु: ३-१-५७ च्लि को विकल्प से अङ् आदेश (भिदिर-भिद्-अभिदत्, अभैत्सीत्)

१२. क् (कित्) : प्रत्याहार सूत्र २ : अक्, इक् प्रत्याहार

:धातु इक्स्मरणे': इण् (इ) गतौ, इङ् अध्ययने से भिन्नता के लिए

:आगम १-१-४६ देश विध्यर्थ (अन्तावयव)[2]

:कृत् : १-१-५ गुण वृद्धि निषेध (कृ + क्तिन् = कृतिः)

तद्धित : ६-१-१६४ अन्त उदात्त

: ७-२-११८ अङ्गगत आदि स्वर की वृद्धि (नड्-फक् नाडायनः)

नामधातु : क्वयच् (य) सामान्यग्रहणार्थ(नः क्ये—१. ४,

: क्यङ् (य) १५) तथा क्यच् आदि के

: क्यष् (ग) कित् होने से (गुण वृद्धिनिषेध

: यक् (य) के लिये

विकरण : यक् (य) गुणवृद्धिनिषेध (कण्डूयति कण्डूयते)

१३. ख् (खित्)कृत् : ६. ३. ३७नुमागम (कालिमन्या)

खच्, खमुञ्

खल्, खश्

खिष्णुच्, खुकञ्

ख्युन्

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१. चोः कुः (८-२-३०) से ज् को ग्

२. आद्यन्तौ टकितौ (१-१-४६) से कित् अन्तावयव

१४. ग् (गित्) १-१-५ गुणवृद्धि निषेध[1] (ग्स्नु प्रत्यय एकमात्र गित् प्रत्यय)

१५. घ् (घित्) ७-३-५२ कुत्व (पच् + घञ्) = पाकः

१६. ङ् (ङित्) प्रत्याहार सूत्र ३ एङ्

धातु : १-३-१२ आत्मनेपद सूचक
तिङ् प्रत्यय (माहङ्) तिङ् तथा तङ् प्रत्याहार निर्माणार्थ

आदेश : १-१-५३ अनेकाल्शित्सर्वस्य (१-१-५५) का अपवाद अर्थात् अन्तिम अल् के स्थान पर आदेश विधान

सुप् : ङे., ङ. सि, सामान्यग्रहणार्थ[2] ङ.स्. ङि.

कृत् : १-५-५ गुणवृद्धि निषेध

स्त्री प्रत्यय : ङीन् ङीप् सामान्य ग्रहणार्थ
ङीष (ङ्याप् प्रातिपदिकात् ४.१.१)

उपसर्ग : आङ् (१-४-५८) विशेषणार्थ[3]

लकार : लङ्, लिङ् सामान्यग्रहणार्थ
लुङ्, लृङ् (नित्यं ङि.तः ३-४-९९)

१७. च् (चित्) प्रत्याहारसूत्र ४: ऐच्. एच्. इच्. अच् प्रत्याहार

कृत् : ६-१-१६३ अन्त उदात्त

तद्धित : ६-१-१६४ अन्त उदात्त

समासान्त : असिच् बहुव्रीहि समास (५ . ४ . १२२)
(अप्रजाः, सुमेधाः)

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१. गिच्चायं प्रत्ययो न कित्, तेन स्थ ईकारो न भवति। क्ङिति च इत्यत्र गकारोऽपि चर्त्वभूतो निर्दिश्यते तेन गुणो न भवति। काशिका ३-२-१३९

२. घेर्ङिति ७-३-१११

३. निपात एकाजनाङ् १ . १ . १७
आङ् प्रयोगस्थल-आङ उद्गमने १ . ३ . ४० । आङ् माङोश्च (६ . १ . ७४), आङो यमहनः (७ . ३ . २०) आदि।

आदेश : अयच् विशेषणार्थ (५-२-४३)

धातुसंज्ञकः : क्यच् सामान्यग्रहण विधातार्थ[1]

विकरण : चङ् . (अ) विशेषणार्थ

स्त्रीप्रत्यय : चाप् (आ) विशेषणार्थ (डाप्, टाप् से पार्थक्य बोध)

१८. व् (वित्) सुप् आदेश : जस् (अस्) शस् से पार्थक्यबोध
: जुस् (उस्) विशेषणार्थ[2]

१९. ञ् (ञित्) प्रत्याहारसूत्र ८ : यञ् प्रत्याहार

धातु : ३-१-७२ पदबोधक (उभयपद)

कृत् : ७-२-११५ अजन्त अङ्ग तथा अकार उपधा की वृद्धि

तद्धित : ७ . २ . ११७ आदि अच् की वृद्धि

आदेश : धमुञ् वृद्यर्थ

२०. ञि (ञीत्) धातु : ३ . २ . १८७ क्त का वर्तमान काल में प्रयोग (प्रीतः)

२१. ट् (टित्) प्रत्याहार सूत्र ५ अट् प्रत्याहार

आगम : १ . ४ . ४६ देशविध्यर्थ (आद्यवयव)

कृत् : ४ . १ . १५ स्त्रीत्व विवक्षा में ङीप् सूचक (कुरुचर कुरुचरी)

तद्धित : ४ . ४ . ६७ ङीप् सूचक

समासान्त : टच् ङीप् सूचक

लकार : लट्, लिट्, लुट् सामान्यग्रहणार्थ[3]
लेट्, लोट्, लृट्

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१. ककारो "नःक्ये" इति सामान्यग्रहणार्थः । चकारस्तदविघातार्थः—काशिका ३ . १ . ८

२. झेर्जुस् ३ . ४ . १०८

३. टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे ३ . ४ . ७९ । एधते ।

सुप् : औट् सुट् प्रत्याहार निर्माणार्थ[1]
टा (आ) विशेषणार्थ (काशिका
४ १ . २)

तिङ् : इट् (इ) ३ . ४ . ७८ विशेषणार्थ[2]

स्त्री प्रत्यय : टाप् सामान्यग्रहणविघातार्थ

२२. टु (ट्वित्) धातु : ३ . ३ . ८९ भावार्थ तथा कर्ताभिन्न अर्थ में अथुच् प्रत्यय (नन्दथुः)

२३. ड् (डित्) ३ . २ . ४८ टिलोपार्थ

२४. डु (ड्वित्) : धातु : ३ . ३ . ८८ भाव तथा कर्ताभिन्न कारक अर्थ में क्त्रि प्रत्यय (कृत्रिम्)

२५. ण् (णित् प्रत्याहार सूत्र १ . ६ : अण् (सूत्र १ से) अण् इण् यण् (सूत्र ६ से)

कृत् : ७. २. ११५ वृद्ध्यर्थ (ञित् की तरह)

तद्धित : ७ . २ . ११७ वृद्ध्यर्थं (ञित् की तरह)

२६. त् (तित्) प्रत्यय : ६. १. १८५ स्वरित (स्वर) बोधक

२७. न् (नित्) प्रत्यय : ६. १. १९७ नित्य आद्युदात्त

२८. प् (पित्) प्रत्यय : ३. १. ४ प्रत्यय का आदि स्वर अनुदात्त

सुप् : ४. १. २ सुप् प्रत्याहार आप् प्रत्याहार ३

कृत् : ६. १. ७१ "तुक्" आगम (कृ + क्विप् कृत्)

२९. म् (मित्) प्रत्याहारसूत्र ७ : अम् यम् , ङम्

आगम : १. १. ४७ देशविध्यर्थ

३०. य् (यित्) प्रत्याहारसूत्र १२ : चय् , खय् , झय् , मय् , यय्

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१. सुडनपुंसकस्य

२. इटोऽत् ३ - ४ - १०६

३. तृतीया एकवचन के आ से लेकर सप्तमी बहुवचन तक आप् प्रत्याहार अनाप्यकः ७-२-११२

३१. र् (रित) प्रत्याहारसूत्र १३ : उपोत्तम स्वर उदात्त
प्रत्यय : ६. १. २१७ शर्, चर्, खर, झर्, यर्

३२. ल् (लित्) प्रत्याहारसूत्र १४ : शल्, झल्, रल्, वल् हल्, अल्
प्रत्यय : ६. १. १९३ प्रत्यय के ठीक पूर्व उदात्त

३३. व् (वित्)प्रत्याहारसूत्र ११ : छव् प्रत्याहार

३४. श् (शित्) प्रत्याहारसूत्र १० : बश् , जश् , झश् , वश् , हश् , अश्
: आदेश : १. ५. ५५ (सर्वादिश १. १ ५३ का अपवाद)

: धातुकप्रत्यय : ३. ४. ११३ सार्वधातुक संज्ञार्थं

: सुप् : शस् (४. १. २) विशेषणार्थ[1]

३५ ष् (षित्)प्रत्याहारसूत्र ९ : भष् , झष्

: प्रत्यय : ४. १. ४१- ङीषर्थ

: धातु : ३. ३. १०४ स्त्रीलिङ्ग भावार्थ में धातु से अङ् प्रत्यय

३६. स् (सित्) प्रत्यय : १. ४. ४६ पदसंज्ञार्थं (ध्वनिविकार की दृष्टि से, यचि भम् की तुलना में)

उपरिलिखित विवरण से स्पष्ट है कि इत्संज्ञा का प्रयोग शास्त्रीय विवेचन का चरमोत्कर्ष है। इत्संज्ञक वर्ण प्रयोगदशा में लुप्त होते होते अनेक कार्यों का स्मरण दिलाते हैं जिससे अभीष्ट सम्पादन सुकर हो जाता है। इस प्रकार इनका इत् (स्मरण दिलाने वाला) नाम पूर्णतया सार्थक है और व्याकरण के प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में इनकी उपादेयता स्वयं सिद्ध।

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१. तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि ६-१-१०३

चैत्तिकदशासन्दर्भे रसानुभवः

डॉ० रमाशङ्कर तिवारी

फैजाबादः

The author in this paper examines the nature of the experience of *rasa* with reference to the simultaneous different conditions of *citta*.

(क)

'विभावानुभावव्यभिचारि संयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः", इति प्रसिद्धरससूत्रस्य व्याख्यातारो भवन्ति प्रभाविताः स्वस्वदर्शनमान्यताभिः। किन्तु, साङ्ख्यानुयायिनो व्यतिरिक्तं, ते सर्वे मन्यन्ते यद् रसानुभव आनन्दमयः। अपि च, रसानुभूतिकाले भावकस्य सामाजिकस्य वा चित्तस्य दशास्ति न तु एकवचनात्मिका, अपितु बहुवचनात्मिका। अस्माकं वर्तमानं प्रयोजनं रसानुभवस्य स्वभावस्य परीक्षणं चैत्तिकदशानां सन्दर्भे।

भट्टनायकाचार्येण संक्षेपतो निरूपितं यद् रसः समुपजायते सामाजिकस्यान्तश्चित्ते सत्त्वोद्रेकस्थितौ ; यत् स भवति स्वप्रकाशानन्दमयश्च तथा जनयति विश्रान्तिमन्तः-करणे। तत्पश्चादभिनवगुप्तपादेनापि प्रतिपादिता रसानुभवस्यानन्दस्वरूपता शैव-दर्शनमान्यताया आलोके। परन्तु, सर्वाधिकं प्राञ्जलं निरूपणमेतद्विषये वर्तते कविराजविश्वनाथस्य यद् भजते लोकप्रियतां रसानुरागिनां मध्ये, यथा—

"सत्त्वोद्रेकादखण्डस्वप्रकाशानन्दचिन्मयः।
वेद्यान्तरस्पर्शशून्यो ब्रह्मास्वादसहोदरः॥
लोकोत्तरचमत्कारप्राणः कैश्चित्प्रमातृभिः।
स्वाकारवदभिन्नत्वेनायमास्वाद्यते रसः॥"

(साहित्यदर्पणे, ३/२३)

अत्र कथ्यन्ते सुव्यक्तं रसानुभूतेः प्रकाशानन्दमयत्वं, चमत्कारित्वमखण्डत्वञ्चा पण्डितराजेनापि "रसो वै सः" इति श्रुतिमवलम्ब्योऽपादितं रसस्यानन्दमयत्वम्। आचार्यरूपगोस्वामिनापि ख्यापितमन्तिमविश्लेषणे रसस्य सुखमयत्वं यतो हि सर्वरसानामाधारो भवति मूलतो भगवान् श्रीकृष्णोऽखिलरसामृतसिन्धुः। प्रारम्भे स वदति यत् काव्यसुलभोनपञ्चाशद् भावानां कतिपये "शीताः" अथवा सुखमयाः, कतिपये "उष्णाः" अथवा दुःखमयाश्च यतो हि ते सर्वे संभवन्ति त्रिगुणेभ्यस्तु। अर्थात् यद्यपि भावानां प्रकृतिः सुख-दुःखात्मिका, तथापि तेभ्यो जायमाना रसाः सुखात्मका एव तथा च रसः समग्रतो भवत्यखण्डोऽविभाजेयः इति मतं स्थापितं परिनिष्ठिताचार्यपदव्याम्।

किन्तु चैत्तिकदशावैविध्यमपि स्वीक्रियते एभिराचार्यैः रसानुभवकाले। प्रत्यक्षतो "वदतो व्याघातो" लक्ष्यते अस्यां द्विविधात्मिकायां स्थितौ। सुतरां सा परीक्षार्हा।

(ख)

द्रुतिविस्तारविकासाख्यानि त्रीणि लक्षणानि निरूप्यन्ते भट्टनायकेन रसाभोगस्य। इमानि सिद्ध्यन्ति परमार्थतः चित्तस्य दशाः। स संयोजयति सम्भवमासां सत्त्वस्योद्रेकेण रजस्तमसोऽनुवेधसंवलितेन। दशरूपके विकाशविस्तारक्षोभविक्षेपाख्याः चतसृश्चैत्तिकदशा निर्दिष्टा रसकाले। प्राह धनिको यत् यद्यपि रसास्वादः तत्त्वतः समसमानोऽनन्यरूपो, तदपि नियतविभावादिकारणेन चित्तस्य चतस्रः दशाः समुपजायन्ते भिन्नभिन्नरसेषु, यथा विकाशः श्रृङ्गारहास्ययोः, विस्तारो वीराद्भुतयोः, क्षोभो बीभत्सभयानकयोः तथा विक्षेपो रौद्रकरुणयोः। विश्वनाथेन ज्ञाप्यन्ते काठिन्यदीप्तत्वविक्षेपद्रुतिनामकाः चतस्रः चित्तदशाः रसानुभवकाले, यथा—काठिन्यं वीरादिषु, दीप्तत्वं रौद्रादिषु, विक्षेपोऽद्भुतहास्ययोश्च। द्रुत्याविर्भावो निर्दिश्यते तेन सम्भोगश्रृङ्गारे, करुणे, विप्रलम्भे, शान्ते चाधिकाधिकमुत्तरोत्तरक्रमेण।

विश्वनाथस्य निरूपणमर्हति परीक्षणमत्र। स मनुते चित्तं निसर्गतः कठिनं तथा प्रतिपादयति प्रादुर्भावं एवं विधानाविष्टचित्तदशाया वीरादिरसेषु। परमिदं कथनं न हि तर्कसंगतं मनःशास्त्रानुसारेण। तथ्यमिदं यद् यदा कदाचित् संसर्गमवाप्यते कस्यचनोत्तेजनस्य, तदा कोऽपि विकारः संजायते नूनमस्माकं चित्ते। उत्साहो वीररसस्य स्थायिभावः। स, प्रतिपादयति विश्वनाथः, प्रादुर्भवति विनयपराक्रमशक्तिप्रतापादिविभावैः। अग्रे निर्दिश्यते तेन यद् "विजेतव्यं" वीरस्यालम्बनम्। तर्हि प्रश्नमुपस्थीयते निसर्गतः—अपि न कापि प्रतिक्रिया सम्भविष्यति प्रमातृचित्ते एवं विधोत्तेजनेभ्यः ? अत्र स्वीकारात्मकमुत्तरं न शक्यते खण्डयितुम्। तस्मादनाविष्टकठिनतायाः निरूपणमनर्गलम्। अत एव चित्तस्य काठिन्यं रसानुभवकाले न माननीयम्।

चित्तस्य विस्तार उद्दिश्यते धनञ्जयेन वीराद्भुतप्रसङ्गेषु । विस्तारो द्योतयति वितति प्रसृतिं वा यस्मादियं व्यञ्जना निःसरति यदनयोर्रसयोः सहृदयस्यान्तश्चित्तं भजति प्रसारं, परित्यज्य स्वसङ्कुचितसीमाम् । अर्थात्, यथा वीरे तथाद्भुतेऽपि प्रमातुः समग्रमन्तःकरणं लभते प्रसारं वैशद्यञ्च । प्राह विश्वनाथो यच्चित्तविक्षेपो घटतेऽद्भुते । इदं कथनं युक्तिविच्छिन्नं यतो हि विक्षेपतो द्योतयति विबलवतां या न संभवति विस्मयस्याविर्भावे योऽद्भुतस्य स्थायी । अनेन चित्तविस्तारो माननीयोऽद्भुते यथोक्तं धनञ्जयेन । अस्मन्मते तु, विक्षेपः संभवति केवलं रौद्रकरुणयोः यतो ह्यनयोः स्थायिनी, क्रोधश्च शोकश्च, उभौ क्लेशकारिणौ ।

विश्वनाथो मनुते चित्तस्य दीप्तत्वं रौद्रे । दीप्तत्वं सूचयति प्रज्वलन-मुत्तेजनं वा । उत्तेजितत्वेऽपि विद्यते विक्षिप्त वस्यानुवेधः । सुतरां रौद्रे स्वीकरणीया विक्षेपदीप्तत्वयोर्यौपदिकाः स्थितिः । बीभत्से भयानके वा क्षोभस्योदयः सद्यो माननीयः । मौनमवलम्ब्यते विश्वनाथेनानयोर्रसयोर्विषये । धनञ्जयो मनुते विकासं शृङ्गारहास्ययोः । विकासो द्योतयति मुकुलस्य प्रसन्नं विकसनं पुष्परूपे । अर्थात्, मानसो हर्षः सूच्यते विकासेन । अनेनानयोरुभयोर्रसयोस्तु विकासस्य प्रसक्तिः स्वीकरणीया ।

इदानीं विश्वनाथस्य "द्रुतिः" विचारमपेक्षते । तस्यानुसारेण, सहृदयस्य चित्तस्य द्रवीभवनं घटते रत्याद्याकारानुविद्धानन्दोद्बोधवशात् । इयं द्रुतिः सम्पद्यते अधिकाधिकं क्रमशः शृङ्गारे, करुणे तथा शान्ते । किन्तु, शान्तो न स्वीक्रियते धनञ्जयेन । शृङ्गारे विकासः, करुणे विक्षेपश्चेति स मनुते । किन्तु, अस्मन्मते तु, हर्षसूचको विकासः सम्भोग शृङ्गारे एवं द्रुतिर्विप्रलम्भे माननीया । शोकस्थायिके करुणे द्रुतिश्च विक्षेपश्च स्वीकरणीये युगपद् यतो हि यावत् प्रमातृचित्ते जनयन्ति वैक्लव्यादिविकारानेवंविधप्रसङ्गाः एकतः, तावत् ते द्रावयन्ति सहृदयानां चित्तमप्य-परतः । शान्ते द्रुतिः द्रवीभावो वा सञ्जायते, इत्यस्मदीयोऽनुभवः ।

अथोपरिगतविवेचनालोके, विभिन्नचैत्तिकदशानामाविर्भावः स्वीकरणीयो निम्नवत्—

शृङ्गारे विकासश्च द्रुतिश्च
हास्ये विकासः
रौद्रे विक्षेपश्च दीप्तत्वञ्च
वीरे विस्तारः
अद्भुते विस्तार;
बीभत्से क्षोभः (व्याकुलीभावः)

भयानके क्षोभः (अशान्तिः, कम्पनमादि)

करुणे द्रुतिश्च विक्षेपश्च

शान्ते द्रुतिर्दुतिः प्रकर्षो वा ।

इदानीं रसद्वयं (वात्सल्यं भक्तिश्च) अवशिष्यते । वात्सल्ये द्रुतिश्च विकासश्च, तथा भक्तौ द्रुतिः स्वीकरणीया, इति मन्यामहे वयम् । अथ समासतः, विकास-विस्तारविक्षेपक्षोभद्रुतिदीप्तत्वानां षट् चैत्तिकदशा उद्भवन्ति रसानुभवकाले विभिन्नरसानुसारेण । उल्लेखनीयोऽयमत्र यत् केवलं द्रुतिविस्तारविकासानां चित्तदशाः उद्दिष्टा भट्टनायकेन । किन्तु, इयं त्रयी अपूर्णा रससहचारिणीनां चैत्तिकदशानां विभावने एवं विक्षेपक्षोभदीप्तत्वानि कल्पन्ते समायोगायात्र । अस्मिन्प्रसङ्गे सचेतसामनुभवः प्रमाणभूतः । अभिनवगुप्तो यद्यपि निर्दिशति सम्भावनामन्यान्यमनोदशानामुदयस्यापि, तथापि इमाः षट्दशा भवन्ति व्यापिका, अतीव समावेशिन्यश्च ।

(ग)

अथ एकं तर्कसंगतं प्रश्नमुपस्थीयते—यदि रसानुभवकाले तावत्सङ्ख्यका मनोदशा आविर्भवन्ति, तर्हि कथङ्कारं रसानुभूतिर्माननीयाऽखण्डाऽविभाज्या च ? अपि च, कथं "प्रकाशानन्दमयी" स्वीकर्त्तव्यापि सा ?

धनिकेन निरूप्यते यत् सर्वे रसा जनयन्ति समसमानास्वादं, केवलं विभावादि भिन्नत्वात्, चित्तस्य विविधात्मिका अन्तर्दशाः समुपजायन्ते । ये कतिपये आचार्या मन्यन्ते रसस्य सुखदु;खात्मकप्रकृतिं तेषां सम्मुखे रसास्वादस्य प्रकाशानन्दमयत्वविषयकं प्रश्नं नोपस्थितम् । अनेनैव, आस्वादस्यैक्यस्य प्रश्नमपि नोपपन्नं तेभ्यस्तु । तथापि, प्रश्नमिदं वर्तते—किं कारणं रसः समीक्ष्यते परिनिष्ठिताचार्यपरम्परयाऽखण्ड आनन्दात्मको वा ?

मन्यामहे वयं यत्प्रधानकारणमस्मिन् विषये भवति दार्शनिकप्रवृत्तिराचार्याणाम् या तानुत्तेजयति स्म उपेक्षितुं यथार्थम् । इदं सर्वमान्यं तथ्यं यद् रसस्यानन्दात्मकताऽ-ख ण्डता च सिद्ध्यति मुख्यतया अभिनवगुप्तपादस्यावदानं यत् स्वीक्रियते स्माचिन्त-याऽतर्कयित्वा च पश्चाद्वर्तिविवेचकैरपि । परात्परतत्त्वं, ब्रह्म परमशिवो वा, भवति स्वप्रकाशं च आनन्दमयञ्च, अखण्डञ्च, अपरिवर्तनीयञ्च । ततो रसानुभवोऽपि भवेदानन्दात्मकोऽखण्डश्च यत् स वर्तते अन्तःकरणस्य विषयः, आत्मनो विषयो योऽस्ति परमात्मा एव, इति परिनिष्ठिता धारणा ।

परन्तु साङ्ख्ये निरूपितः त्रैगुण्यवादः स्वीक्रियते स्म सर्वैर्दर्शनैस्तु यतो हि स तिष्ठति मनःशास्त्रीयाधारे। तस्मात्, सर्वेषामुत्तेजनानां संसर्गे मनोविकारस्य वैविध्यस्योत्पत्तिर्न शक्यते प्रत्याख्यातुम्। यत आचार्याः प्रतिबद्धाः उपर्युक्तदार्शनिक-प्रतिपत्त्या तथा परिगृह्णन्ति स्म त्रैगुण्यवादमपि, ततो जटिलता सञ्जाता तेषां सम्मुखे कथङ्कारं समन्वयः स्थापितव्यो रसस्याखण्डत्वानन्दमयत्वयोः मनोविकारवैविध्ये च ? ते न शेकुः परित्यक्तुं विविधदशानामुदयं भावकस्य चित्ते रसकाले, तथा च नापि शेकुरुपेक्षितुं स्वदार्शनिकं विश्वासम्।

भट्टनायकेन स्वीक्रियते रसाभोगे रजस्तमसोऽनुवेधः सत्त्वोद्रेकेण सह यतो हि त्रयो गुणा विद्यन्ते परस्परसंयुक्ताः मानवचित्ते, तेषामेकस्यापि उद्रेकः संयुज्यते नूनमन्वयोरनुवेधेन। अनेनैव, रसः प्रख्यापितः तेन न विशुद्धानाविल ब्रह्मास्वादः प्रत्युत "ब्रह्मास्वाद सविधः". अथवा "ब्रह्मानन्दसहोदरः" यथोक्तं परवर्तिभिराचार्यैः। परन्तु इदमपि स्वीकर्त्तव्यमत्र यत् रजस्तमसोऽनुवेध आस्त पीडयन् तानन्तरतः यस्मादेव ते स्वीचक्रुः नानाविधमनोदशानामाविर्भावं रसानुभवकाले यथार्थबुद्ध्या। भट्टनायकस्य द्रुतिविस्तारविकासनिरूपणं प्रतिफलति स्म यतो हि पार्यन्तिकं पार्थक्यं स न शशाक विधातुं सत्त्वोद्रेकस्य रजस्तमसोभ्याम्। तर्हि, किं कर्त्तव्यं रसस्याखण्डत्वस्य, अविभाज्यत्वस्य वा ?

उत्तरत्वे तु विकल्पद्वयमुपस्थीयते—रसस्याखण्डता केवलमर्थवादो, न हि पारमार्थिकी; अथवा सा शृङ्खलिता रसानुभवस्य गह्वरस्य निरूपणेन। अयमैकान्तिक-गह्वरो विज्ञापितो रसानुभूतेः बहुशः प्रतिपादितया "वेद्यान्तरस्पर्शशून्यतया" या विद्योतयति प्रमातुरन्तश्चेतनाया निमग्नीभवनं संवेद्यभावानुभूतौ येनावान्तरवस्तुनः प्रतीतिर्बाष्पीभवेत्। इदं निमज्जनं मन्येत रसानुभवस्यैकं केन्द्रीयलक्ष्मं सर्वभावानां विषये। अपि च, इदमवबुध्येत रसस्यैकात्म्यस्य निदर्शकम्। अनया दृष्ट्या, रसानुभवो-ऽर्हति ग्रहीतुमखण्डत्वमविभाज्यत्वं वा यतो ह्यनुभवस्य गह्वरी विशेषयेत् सर्वरसान्। किन्तु, अयं नाचार्याणां प्रकृतदृष्टिकोणः।

आनन्दमयत्वविषये तु, परमात्मन आनन्दस्वरूपतैव सिद्ध्यति सनातनाधारः। नात्र कोऽप्यन्यतर्क उपस्थीयते गम्भीरत्वेनाचार्यैः। किन्तु, यदि चैतन्यस्यात्मपरामर्शमूल-कान्तर्मुखीभवनं स्यादानन्दस्य व्यावर्त्तकं लक्षणं यथा निरूपितमभिनवगुप्तेन, तर्हि रसास्वादः काव्यास्वादो वा शक्यते मन्तुमानन्दो यतो हि अत्रापि चित्तं भजते पूर्णनिमज्जनमात्मपरामर्शे। उक्तं धनञ्जयेन यत् काव्यार्थसम्भेदजन्यात्मानन्दो भवति काव्यस्य रसस्य वानन्दः—"स्वादः काव्यार्थसम्भेदात्मानन्दसमुद्भवः।" अर्थात्, आत्मानन्दः =आस्वादः तथा आस्वादः = आत्मानन्दः। अस्यैव कथनस्य सातत्ये तु स्वादस्य चत्वारः प्रकाराः कथ्यन्ते—"विकाशविस्तारक्षोभविक्षेपैः स च चतुर्विधः।" (दश०, ४/४३)।

उपरिगतविवेचनादयं निष्कर्षः प्राप्यते—रसास्वादस्य प्रकृतिर्भवति नानाविधा, किन्तु आस्वादस्य गहनता विभूषयति रसमखण्डतायाः संस्कृत्या संशीलेन वा यस्माद्रसो गण्यते अविभाज्यः, ऐकात्मको च, एवमात्मपरामर्शनिकषेन सोऽवबुध्येत आनन्द स्वरूपः तथापि, अस्मन्मते तु, प्रधानावलम्ब आचार्याणामस्मिन् विषये भवति परात्परतत्त्वस्य कूटत्वञ्च, ऐक्यञ्चानन्दस्वरूपत्वञ्च यथा निगद्यते शैवाचार्याभिनवगुप्तपादेन सुव्यक्तम्— "अस्मन्मते तु संवेदनमेवानन्दघनमास्वाद्यते। तत्र का दुःखाशङ्का ?" (हिन्दी **अभिनवभारती**, प्रथम संस्करण, आचार्य विश्वेश्वर पृ० ५०६)

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रसस्यास्वाद्यता चर्च्यतेऽस्माभिरुपरि। आस्वादनीयत्वं निरूपितमाचार्यैर्बलेन। भरतोऽपि रेखाङ्कयति तथ्यमिदं, यथा—"रस इति कः पदार्थः) ? अत्रोच्यते। आस्वाद्यत्वात्।" (**नाट्यशास्त्रम्**, षष्ठाध्यायः)। अत एव, युक्तमिदं यद् वयं परीक्षामहे विभिन्नरसानामास्वादनीयत्वम्। किञ्च, अपि सर्वेषां रसानामास्वादनमुपेतं समसमान-गह्वर्यां इत्यपि विचारणीयम्।

अस्मिन् सन्दर्भे दृष्टित्रयमुन्मीलितं नः सम्मुखे—प्रथमो, साक्षात्कारात्मकता; द्वितीया, चर्वणागोचरता, तृतीया च सामान्यानुभवनात्मकता। आचार्यैर्भावानां साक्षात्कारात्मिका प्रतीतिर्निरूप्यते रसविषये। "पुर इव परिस्फुरन्, हृदयमिव प्रविशन्, सर्वाङ्गीणमिवालिङ्गन्", इति प्राह मम्मटः। अनेन रसस्य साक्षात्कारात्मिका प्रतीतिः व्यज्यते। चर्वणातत्त्वं गृह्णाति सातिशयं महत्त्वमभिनवगुप्तस्य प्रतिपादने, इति जानन्ति सर्वे विद्वांसोऽभिनवभारत्यनुशीलनेन। अत्र स प्रणुदितो भूरिशो भट्टनायकस्य "भोगेन भुज्यते।" "चर्व्यमाणतैकसारः", इति रसो विशेष्यतेऽभिनवेन। मम्मटोऽपि प्रयोजयति "चर्व्यमाणतैकप्राणः" इति रसास्वादं ज्ञापयितुम्। इयं चर्वणागोचरता लक्षयति प्रमातु-र्वेद्यान्तरसम्पर्कशून्यास्वादनं प्रस्तुतस्थायिनो यदा स भवेदात्मविभोरः। सामान्यानु-भवनात्मकताया विन्दुः स्वतः स्पष्टः। अयं न प्राप्नोति चर्व्यमाणतां साक्षात्का-रात्मकताञ्च।

इदानीं प्रसिद्धरसानां रस्यमानताऽर्हति परीक्षितुमनेन हेमलेन त्रिधात्मकेन।

मन्यामहे वयं यत् द्वौ रसौ, शृङ्गारश्च करुणश्च, पूर्णतः प्रत्युत्तरशीलौ पूर्णतः वर्तमाननिकषं प्रति। प्रमातुरन्तःकरणस्य द्रवीभवनं पूर्णतः सम्पद्यते, बिभर्ति सम्पादनीयतां वा अनयोर्रसयोरनुभवे। तयोः प्रतीतिर्भवति साक्षात्कारात्मिका, चर्वणागोचरा च, समुल्लङ्घ्य सामान्यानुभवनात्मकताम्। अत्रैकं कारणमस्ति यदिमौ संबद्धौ अस्माकं जिजीविषया—शृङ्गारो विधेयात्मकरीत्या करुणो निषेधात्मकरीत्या

च। अस्मन्मते, शान्तोऽपि भवति ग्राह्यः प्रस्तुतनिकषेन। एतस्य स्थायी, शमः तृष्णाक्षयसुखो वा, जागरति आनन्दस्यानुभूतिं सचेतसो हृदये। विश्वनाथेन कथ्यते यच्छान्ते वर्तते स्थितिरधिकतरा माधुर्यगुणस्य अन्येषां रसानामपेक्षया। माधुर्यं बोधयति द्रुतिमन्तःकरणस्य। सुतरां, साक्षात्कारात्मकता चर्वणागोचरतयोः तत्त्वे प्रविशतो निसर्गतः शान्तस्यानुभवे, इति मन्यतेऽस्माभिः। इत्थं शान्तो दधाति तृतीयं स्थानमास्वाद्यमानत्वविषये। साक्षात्कारात्मकत्वमपि गृहीतव्यमत्र।

यदि कोऽपि अन्यो रसो बिभर्ति योग्यतां कषितुमुपरिप्रस्तावितनिकषे, तर्हि केवलं भयानकः समायाति सम्मुखम्। वयं जानीम यत् भयानक एव प्रपञ्च्यते अभिनवगुप्तेना**भिनवभारत्यां** स्वीये रसनिरूपणे, समुद्धृत्य "ग्रीवाभङ्गाभिरामम्" इत्यादि शाकुन्तलात्। अत्र विवक्षामो वयं यदन्यो उदाहरणं युक्ततरं ग्रहीतुमशक्नोदभिनवगुप्तोऽस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे भयानकरसस्य निरूपणे, तस्यानुभवस्य साक्षात्कारात्मकतादिनिदर्शनाय। किन्तु, क्षमन्तां मां विद्वांसो यदि वयं वदामो यद् भयानको नोपलब्धः स्वीये पूर्णायामे संस्कृतकाव्येषु यथा दृश्यते पाश्चात्यानां त्रासदीषु (ट्रैजिडीषु)। तथाप्यभिनवस्य प्रतिपादने, भयानकस्य प्रतीतिः सिद्ध्यति साक्षात्कारात्मिका च, चर्वणीया च।

उपर्युक्तं रसचतुष्टयं व्यतिरिक्तम्, अन्येषु रसेषु तावान् परिमाणः साक्षात्कारात्मकत्वस्य, चर्वणागोचरतायाश्च, नोपलभ्यते यावानेतेषु चतुर्षु रसेषु। अन्ये रसा न प्रभवन्त्यतिक्रमितुं सामान्यानुभवनात्मकतापरिधिम्। वीररसे तु एते द्वे तत्त्वे लभ्यमाने, किन्तु न हि प्रस्फुटत्वेन, इति मतमस्माकम्—पण्डितानां मतं वर्जयित्वा। अद्भुते चर्वणीयता वर्तमाना, किन्तु न साक्षात्कारात्मकता। वात्सल्यं सिद्ध्यति चर्वणागोचरमेकस्मै विशेषाय सहृदयवर्गाय, किन्तु अस्मन्मते तु, इदं चर्वणागोचरत्वं न सिद्ध्यति वेद्यान्तरसम्पर्कशून्यत्वम्। भक्तिरसास्वादोऽपेक्षते सामान्यविशिष्टं प्रमातृसमुदायम्। "कृष्णभक्तिरसो जरन्मीमांसकाद् रक्ष्यः", इति कथनेन सूच्यते रूपगोस्वामिमहोदयैः[१] स्वयमेव भक्तिरसस्य परिमिताकर्षणम्। अत्र दुर्बलतमः पक्षो बीभत्सस्यास्मन्मते। वर्तमाना परीक्षा भवति समुपकारका युक्तिसम्मतनिष्कर्षणे।

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विचारणीयमिदानीं सुस्थभावेन—अन्तरे वर्तमाने विभिन्नरसानां साक्षात्कारात्मकत्वचर्वणागोचरत्वविषये अथ च नानाविधत्वे प्राप्तव्ये रसकालोपलभ्यासु

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१. इत्येष भक्तिरसिकैश्चोरादिव महानिधिः।
जरन्मीमांसकाद् रक्ष्यः कृष्णभक्तिरसः सदा।
हरिभक्तिरसामृतसिन्धु, दक्षिण विभाग, स्थायीभाव लहरी, १११-१३)

चैत्तिकदशासु, कथङ्कारं समीचीनं भवति समीक्षितुं रसानुभवम् अखण्डम् आनन्दमयञ्च ? प्रतीतिसाम्यक्यस्य च रस्यमानत्वे परिमाणस्य च भिन्नतया रसो न मानितव्योऽखण्डः। अर्थात्, रसस्य श्रेण्यो माननीयाः, यथा, पक्वो रसः'' (पूर्णतयास्वाद्यः पूर्णतया साक्षात्कृतश्च), 'अपक्वो रसः'' (ईषदास्वाद्य ईषत्साक्षात्कृतश्च) इत्यादि। तथैव, रसकालजन्यचैत्तिकदशानुसारेण, रसानां प्रकृतिर्व्रजेत्, परिवर्तनं भिन्नत्वं वा। अर्थात्, संवादो विद्येत तत्तच्चैत्तिकदशोत्पादकभावस्य च, संबद्धरसस्य च। वर्तमाने प्रश्नपरायणे युगे, आचार्याणां दार्शनिका भूमिर्न माननीया। रामचन्द्रगुणचन्द्रादयो जैनाचार्या न मन्यन्ते रसं केवलं सुखात्मकम्। काव्यस्य ''सुखदुःखात्मकता'', इति ''नव्यानां'' मतमिति भणति सिद्धिचन्द्रः।[1] परं, विवक्षामो यत् रसस्यानुभवो विविधात्मको, न सुखात्मको, नापि उभयात्मकः। यथार्थस्यानुरोधः नोपेक्षणीयः, सहृदयस्य दृष्ट्यैव। विश्वनाथस्य ''काव्यसंश्रयो'' न प्रभविष्यति परिवर्तयितुं कस्यापि भावस्य लोकसंसिद्धां प्रकृतिम्।

सुतरां, रसस्याखण्डता, रसस्यानन्दमयता वा नातिरिच्यतेऽर्थवादात्।

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१. **Dr. S. K. De.** *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, **Part II p. 260, fin.**

गौणी तु न पृथग्वृत्तिः

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जोधपुरम्

विदितचरमेव अलङ्कारशास्त्रविकासविदां विदुषां यत्प्रयोजनवतीलक्षणा गौणीशुद्धाभेदमाध्यमेन द्विधा विभज्यते । आचार्याणां मतानुसारेण उपचारस्तत्र कारणम् । तद्यथा—गौण्यामुपचारः उत वा साधर्म्यं सम्प्राप्यते, किन्तु शुद्धायां तस्य अभाव एव परिलक्ष्यते ।

प्राचीनमीमांसकास्तदनुयायिनश्च गौणीं लक्षणातश्च भिन्नां वृत्तिं स्वीकुर्वन्तीति तथ्यमेतदर्वाचीना विद्वांसोऽपि सम्यग्विदांकुर्वन्त्येव[1] ।

प्रायः काव्यशास्त्रस्याचार्या गुणवृत्तिं लक्षणान्तर्भूतामभिन्नामेव वा मन्वाना एकयैव परिभाषया परिभाषयन्ति ।

लक्षणा गौणीवृत्तिश्च

इदानीं विवादग्रस्ताया लक्षणाया गुणवृत्तेश्चेतिवृत्तं विविच्यते । आलङ्कारिकाः सादृश्यमूलकलक्षणां गौणीनाम्ना समुच्चरन्ति, किन्तु मीमांसका गौणी तु भिन्नवृत्तिरिति रागमालापयन्ति । विषयेऽस्मिन् तेषां मान्यता प्रसरति यद्गौण्यां शब्दप्रयोगः सम्प्राप्यते

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१. गौणी स्वतन्त्रवृत्तिः अभिधातो लक्षणातश्च विलक्षणा इति वेदवादिनां मीमांसकानां सिद्धान्तः । स एव च मधुसूदनसरस्वतीपादेनाङ्गीकृतः । नरेन्द्रनाथः चौधुरी, **काव्यतत्त्वसमीक्षा**, मोतीलाल बनारसीदासः, दिल्ली, १९५९ ई० पृ० ३१८

तथैव—मीमांसकास्तु गौणीमपि लक्षणातो भिन्नां स्वीकुर्वते अपरे नैयायिकादयस्तु लक्षणातोऽभिन्नां लक्षणाप्रभेदरूपां वा मन्यन्ते । **शब्दबोधविमर्शः**, बदरीनाथसिंहः, गोदोलिया, वाराणसी, सं० २०२८ पृ० २६५

लक्षणायान्तु न। 'गौणे शब्दप्रयोगः न लक्षणायाम्' आद्यस्योदाहरणं 'गौर्वाहीकः''सिंहो माणवक.' द्वितीयस्योदाहरणन्तु 'गङ्गायां घोषः' इति प्रसिद्धमेव।

शब्दप्रयोगे गौणेति मीमांसकमान्यता आलङ्कारिकैर्नैवाङ्गीक्रियते, यतो हि तन्मते हेतुकोटयां समापतितः शब्दप्रयोगो गौण्या लक्षणयाश्च भेदको नैव भवितुमर्हति। यतो हि आलङ्कारिकैः प्रकारान्तरेण शब्दप्रयोगे सारोपा तदभावे साध्यवसाना भेदद्वयमस्मिन्नेव प्रकरणे स्वीकृतमासीत्।[1]

मीमांसका यां गौणीति आचचक्षिरे नैयायिकैः आलङ्कारिकैस्तत्रापि लक्षणा समाम्नाता[2] मीमांसकेष्वपि प्राभाकरा गौणीं पृथग्वृत्तिरूपेणामनन्ति। भाट्टमीमांसका लक्षणायामेव गौणीमन्तर्भूयोपचारस्य मिश्रणादमिश्रणाच्च लक्षणां गौणीशुद्धा भेदाभ्यां विभजयाञ्चक्रुः।

गौण्या विकास

यास्क (७०० ई० पू०) समयादेव लक्षणाविषयकतत्त्वानां चर्चा समारब्धासीत्, तथापि स्पष्टरूपेण तस्या पारिभाषाविषयकी तथा स्वरूपविषयिकी च चर्चा कुमारिल-भट्टात्पूर्वं नैव सम्प्राप्यते। **भर्तृहरिणा** [५७५-६५१] गुणवृत्तिविषये अथवा लक्षणाविषये गौणशब्दो व्यवहृतः[3]। **कुमारिलभट्टः** [६५०-७५० ई०] प्रथमाचार्य आसीत् येन

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१. विषयस्यानिगीर्णस्यान्यतादात्म्यप्रतीतिकृत्।
सारोपा स्यान्निगीर्णस्य मता साध्यवसानिका॥

विश्वनाथः, सहित्यदर्पणम्, भारतीयविद्याप्रकाशनम्, दिल्ली, १९७८ ई० पृ० ९७

तथैव—गौणी तु न पृथग्वृत्तिरिति ज्ञापयितुं सारोपा साध्यवसाने विभज्यते। **काव्यप्रकाशः** सटीकः (पं० गोकुलनाथोपाध्यायः) संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयः, वाराणसी, १९६१ ई० पृ० ७०

२. नैयायिका आलङ्कारिकाश्च इमां गौणीवृत्तिं लक्षणाया भेदकत्वे नाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति। **काव्यतत्त्वसमीक्षा**, पृ० ३१८

३. सर्वशक्तेस्तु तस्यैव शब्दस्यानेकधर्मणः।
प्रसिद्धिभेदाद् गौणत्वं मुख्यत्वञ्चोपजायते॥

भर्तृहरिः **वाक्यपदीयम्**, मोतीलाल बनारसीदासः, दिल्ली, १९७१ ई० पृ० ९५

गौणीवृत्तिलक्षणातो भिन्ना स्वीकृता, लक्षणञ्चोभयोः पृथग् पृथग्रूपेण कृतम्। स अभिधेयेन संयुक्तार्थस्य प्रतीतिं लक्षणा इति मनुते। स्वीकरोति च लक्षमाणगुणानां योगापेक्षयैव गौणीवृत्तिः प्रसरति[1]। गौणशब्दं परिभाषयन् भट्टो बभाषे यन्मुखवत्प्रथमतः प्रतीतिगम्यत्वात शब्दार्थः किं वा वाच्यार्थो मुख्यतत्त्वरूपेण समाख्यायते, वाच्यार्थजन्यगुणानां कारणादेवान्यार्थस्य गौणता मन्यते[2]। अनुमीयते यल्लक्षणाया द्वौ मुख्यौ भेदौ गौणी—शुद्धेति अष्टमशताब्द्यात्पूर्वं नैवास्ताम्। कालेऽस्मिन् गौणी, शुद्धा इति द्वे स्वतन्त्रे वृत्ती प्रचलिते आस्ताम्। तन्त्रवार्तिककार-कथनं मतमेनं समर्थयति।

उद्भटेन (८ वीं श०) ध्वनिविमर्शप्रकरणे लक्षणाशब्दस्य प्रयोगो विहितः[3]। रूपकालङ्कारवर्णनप्रसङ्गे लघुवृत्त्यां गुणवृत्तिशब्दस्य प्रयोगः सम्प्राप्यते[4]। **वामनस्य**

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१. **अभिधेयाविनाभूते प्रवृत्तिर्लक्षणेष्यते।**
लक्ष्यमाणगुणैर्योगाद् वृत्तेरिष्टातु गौणता॥

कुमारिलभट्टः, **तन्त्रवार्तिकम्**, चौ० सं० बुकडिपो, वाराणसी, १९०३ ई० पृ० ३१८

२. **शब्दार्थस्येव मुख्यत्वं मुखवत्प्रथमोद्गतेः।**
अर्थगम्यस्य गौणत्वं गुणागमनहेतुकम्॥

परगुणानां परत्राभावादशक्यं गुणेभ्य आयात इत्येवं लक्षणं गौणत्वम्। पराधीनवृत्तिश्च गौणो नित्यं (नित्यं गौणं) प्रतीयते। **तन्त्रवार्तिकम्**, पृ० ७६३-७६४

३. तत्सदृशस्य या लक्षणा तस्या अत्यन्ततिरस्कृतवाच्यमूलत्वात्। उद्भटः, **काव्यालङ्कारसारसंग्रह एवं लघुवृत्तिः**, भण्डा० ओ० रि० पूना, १९२५ ई० पृ० ४२८

४. गुणवृत्तिः प्रधानेन युज्यते रूपकं तु तत्। तत्रैव, पृ० ४२८
तथैव—शब्दानामभिधानमभिधाव्यापारो गुणवृत्तिश्च।
अभिनवगुप्तः, **ध्वन्यालोकलोचनम्**, चौ० वि० वाराणसी, १९६५ ई० पृ० ६३

(८ वीं० श०) काव्यालङ्कारस्य द्वितीयाध्याये कविसन्दर्भप्रकरणे गौणशब्दस्य[1] तथैव वक्रोक्त्यलङ्कारस्य वर्णनावसरे च लक्षणा शब्दस्य प्रयोगो दृष्टिपथमायाति[2]।

आनन्दवर्धनः (८५०-८७५ ख्री०) गौण्याः कृते गुणवृत्तेस्तथा लक्षणाशब्दस्यापि प्रयोगं कृतवान्। मनुते च लक्षणामेव मुख्यव्यापारम्। भाक्तमतानां निरसने लक्षणा गौणी च उभे तेन वर्णिते[3]। **खण्डदेवस्य** (१७वीं० श०) मते तु स्वशक्यनिष्ठगुणवत्ता एव गौणी वृत्तिः[4] एवमेतावत्कालपर्यन्तं गुणवृत्तेर्लक्षणाशब्दस्य च प्रयोगो विहितो वर्तते। अन्येन केनापि आचार्येण गुणवृत्तेरन्तराले लक्षणामपि अन्तर्भावयता गौणशब्दस्य उत वा गुणवृत्तिशब्दस्य प्रयोगो विहितः। वस्तुतः कुमारिलभट्टसमये या गौणवृत्तिः, लक्षणातो भिन्ना स्वतन्त्ररूपेण च सम्प्रतिष्ठिता आसीत्, सैव मुकुलभट्टस्याभिधा-वृत्तिमातृकायां लक्षणायां भेदद्वयान्तर्गतद्वितीयभेदरूपेण अर्थादुपचारस्य भेदद्वयान्तर्गत-द्वितीयभेदरूपेण गौणनामतया ख्यातिमाजगाम। भट्टस्यानुसारेणोपचारः शुद्धगौण-रूपेण द्विविधः। तेऽपि आरोपाध्यवसानाभ्यां द्विधा विभागमाप्नुतः। एवमुपचार-श्चतुर्विधः।[5] इत्थमुपचारमाध्यमेन विभाजिता गौणी मम्मटेन काव्यप्रकाशे प्रयोजन-वतीलक्षणावर्णनावसरे लक्षणाङ्गरूपेण तद्भेदरूपेणोपन्यस्ता तथा सर्वदा कृते मीमांस-काभिमतायाः स्वतन्त्रताया गौण्या वृत्तेः समावेशो लक्षणायामेव विहितः।

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१. अरोचितृष्णाव्यवहारशब्दौ गौणार्थौ।

वामनः, काव्यालङ्कारसूत्रवृत्तिः, हिन्दी-अनुसन्धानपरिषद्, दिल्ली विश्व-विद्यालयः, दिल्ली, १९५४ ई० पृ० १३

२. सादृश्यलक्षणा वक्रोक्तिः। तत्रैव, पृ० २६५

३. गुणवृत्तिस्तूपचारेण, लक्षणया चोभयाश्रया भवति तदेवं सति लक्षणैव मुख्यो व्यापार। ध्वन्यालोकः पृ० २८३

४. स्वशक्यनिष्ठगुणवत्ता गौणीवृत्तिलक्षणम्।

खण्डदेवः मीमांसाकौस्तुभः, चौ० सं० सी० आ० वाराणसी, १९२३ ई० पृ० २८३

५. आरोपाध्यवसानाभ्यां शुद्धगौणोपचारयोः।

प्रत्येकं भिद्यमानत्वादुपचारश्चतुर्विधः॥

मुकुलभट्टः, अभिधावृत्तिमातृका, चौ० सं० आ० वाराणसी, १९७३ ई० पृ० १५

मम्मटप्रभृत्यालङ्कारिकाणां समर्थनं धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्रः, कणादतर्कवागीश, अन्नंभट्टप्रभृतयो नैयायिका अप्यकार्षुः। इमे दार्शनिका गौणीं भिन्नवृत्तिरूपेण नैवामनन्ति। वस्तुतः पूर्वनिगदिता विरोधिधारणाऽष्टमशताब्दिपर्यन्तं मीमांसकेषु बद्धमूलासीत्। अग्रेऽपि मीमांसकानुयायिनः शालिकनाथभोजराजरुय्यकगागाभट्टप्रभृतयो विद्वांसो मूर्धन्यस्थानं बिभ्रति। गागाभट्टो (१७ वीं० श०) गौण्याः पृथगस्तित्वं समर्थयन् प्राह – गौणी भिन्नवृत्तिरूपेणास्वीकुर्वाणे तु 'यजमानः प्रस्तरः' वैदिकवाक्येऽस्मिल्लँक्षणा न भविष्यति। स्वीकुर्वाणे तु लक्षणा भविष्यति। यतोऽत्र यजमानप्रस्तरयोर्यागकारणतारूपगुणयोगाद् यजमानपदं प्रस्तरे गौणमस्ति, अतः गौणीवृत्तिर्लक्षणातो व्यतिरिक्ता एव[1]।

गौण्या पृथक्तायाः समर्थका आचार्याः

शालिकनाथः (१० वीं० श०) प्रकरणपञ्चिकायां लक्षणाया गौण्याश्च पृथगस्तित्वं प्रतिपादयामास[2]। भोजराजोऽपि सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणेऽभिधाया भेदान् विवेचयन् गौणी लक्षणातो भिन्ना इत्येव समर्थयामास। शृङ्गारप्रकाशेऽपि मीमांसकमान्यतां नैव विजहाति[3] यतो हि तेन तत्र वृत्तयो मुख्या, लक्षणा, गौणीतिभेदेन त्रिधा विभाजिता।

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१. एवंविधगौणत्वाङ्गीकारे च शक्यार्थत्यागाभावेन न वेदाप्रामाण्यापत्तिलेशोऽपि अतएव 'यजमानः प्रस्तर' इत्यादौ यजमानप्रस्तरयोर्यागकारणत्वरूपगुणयोगेन यजमानपदं प्रस्तरे गौणमतो भिन्ना लक्षणातो गौणी। गागाभट्टः, **भाट्टचिन्तामणिः** चौ० सं० सी० आ० वाराणसी, १९ ३ ई० पृ० ५९

२. प्रयोगश्च श्रुत्या लक्षणया गौण्या वा वृत्त्या नानुपपन्नः। शालिकनाथः, **प्रकरणपञ्चिका**, चौ० सं० बु० डिपो० वाराणसी, १९०३ ई० पृ० २८। तथैव-यो वेदे तथाभूतार्थाप्रयोगः स गौणेन लाक्षणिकेन वा वर्णनीयः। तत्रैव, पृ० १५०

३. अभिधेये प्रवर्तमानः शब्दो वृत्तित्रयेण वर्तते। ताश्च मुख्याः, गौणी, लक्षणेति तिस्रः।

भोजः, **शृङ्गारप्रकाशः**, प्राचीन संस्कृतग्रन्थप्रकटनविश्वसंस्थाध्यक्षः, मैसूरनगरी, १९५६ ई० पृ० २२३

तथैव-शब्दस्य प्रतिपादनशक्तिरभिधा, सा च त्रिधा मुख्या, गौणी, लक्षणा च।

भोजः, **सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणम्**, निर्णयसागरमुद्रणालयः, मुंबई, । १९३४ ई० पृ० १८८

भोजस्य (१० वी० श०) सिद्धान्तानुसारेण प्रतीयमानशौर्यादिगुणैर्व्यवहितार्था गौणीवृत्तिर्भवति । स शृंगारप्रकाशे गौण्या लक्षणं लक्षणातो भिन्नरूपेणैव कृतवान्[1] । **हेमचन्द्राचार्यः** (१०८८-११७२ खी०) गौणीं भिन्नवृत्तिरूपेणाङ्गीचकार ।[2]

रुय्यकस्य शिष्यो **मंखकः** (११२८-११५० खी०) भोजमनुसरन् विलोक्यते । मंखकानुसारेण पदार्थप्रतिपादने जन्या व्यापाराः वृत्तिपदेनाभिधीयन्ते । सा वृत्तिर्मुख्या, लक्षणा गौणीतिरूपेण त्रैविध्यं बिभर्ति ।[3]

कुमारिलभट्टस्यानुगमनं कुर्वता मंखकेन गौणी लक्षणा च उभे एव अनेक-शब्दावलिमाध्यमेन विवेचिते ।[4] **गागाभट्टो** (१६०५ खी०) लक्षणां गौणीञ्चापर-पदवृत्तिरूपेणाङ्गीकुर्वल्लँक्षणातो गौणीं भिन्नामेव मेने ।[5]

भट्टशङ्करो (१६३५ खी०) लक्षणायां गौण्याञ्च दौर्बल्यबीजमेव कारणं मन्वानो द्वयोरेव पार्थक्यं तनुते । उभयत्रापि तयोर्द्वयोर्दौर्बल्यबीजं तेन अभिन्नरूपेण न

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१. गम्यमानशौर्यादिगुणव्यवहितार्था गौणी । शृंगारप्रकाशः, पृ० २२३

२. तत्र संकेताभावान्नाभिधा, नापि गौणी लक्षणा वा, मुख्यार्थबाधादिलक्षणा-भावात् । हेमचन्द्रः, **काव्यानुशासनम्**, निर्णयसागरमुद्रणालयः, मुंबई, १९०१ ई० पृ० २५४

३. **वृत्तिः पदानां व्यापारः पदार्थप्रतिपादने ।**
सा मुख्या लक्षणा गौणीत्येवं त्रैविध्यमास्थिता ।।

मंखकः, **साहित्यमीमांसा**, चित्रावतारमहाराजशासनान्तर्गतरा-जकीयमुद्रणालयाध्यक्षः त्रिवेन्द्रम्, १९३४ ई० पृ० २

४. **स्पृशत्यर्थान्तरं गौणी लक्ष्यमाणगुणान्वयात् ।**
अभिधेयाविनाभूतं स्पृशन्ती लक्षणोच्यते ।।

तत्रैव पृ० २

५. लक्षणा गौणी च अपरपदवृत्तिः ।

गागाभट्टः, **भाट्टचिन्तामणिः**, चौ० सं० सी० आ० वाराणसी, १९३३ ई० पृ० ५७

विवेचितम् ।[1] श्रीधरस्वामिनापि (१६५०-१७०८ ख्री०) गौणीवृत्तिलक्षणातो भिन्ना स्वीकृता ।[2]

इत्थमष्टमशताब्दिपर्यन्तं भिन्नवृत्तिरूपेण प्रतिष्ठिताया गौण्या मम्मटादिभिर्लक्षणायामन्तर्भावे कृतेऽपि मीमांसकैस्तदनुयायिभिश्चान्यैरालङ्कारिकैश्च चिरकालपर्यन्तं कुमारिलभट्टस्यानुकरणं विहितम् । बहुभिरन्यैरालङ्कारिकैर्दार्शनिकैश्च मम्मटस्यानुकरणं विधाय गौण्याः समावेशो लक्षणायामेवङ्गीकृतः । मम्मटसमर्थकानामपि कालक्रमेण विवेचनमत्यावश्यकमिति मत्वा तान्सर्वानिह प्रस्तौमि ।

गौण्याः पृथगस्तित्वस्य विरोधिन आचार्याः—

गौणी तु न भिन्नवृत्तिरिति विचारधारायाः पृष्ठपोपकेष्वाचार्येषु अजितसेनः (१२६६ ई०) प्रामुख्यं भजते । तेन अलङ्कारचिन्तामणौ कथितं यल्लक्षणाविशेष एव गौणीवृत्तिः, यतो हि द्वयोस्सम्बन्धानामाधार एक एव ।[3] चण्डीदासः (१३०० ई० ख्री०) काव्यप्रकाशस्य टीकायां लक्षणातः गौणीवृत्तिं पृथग्रूपेण स्वीकुर्वतां विदुषां मतं रिक्ततरं मनुते ।[4] दर्पणकारो **विश्वनाथः** (१३००-१३८० ख्री०) गौण्या अष्टभेदान् प्रकुर्वाणोऽपि गौणीं लक्षणातो भिन्नां न मेने ।[5]

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१. दौर्बल्यबीजन्तु लक्षणायां शक्यसम्बन्धमात्रापेक्षणात् । गौण्यां शक्यसम्बन्धिगुणसम्बन्धगुणसम्बन्धापेक्षणात् ।
शंकरभट्टः **मीमांसाबालप्रकाशः**, चौ० सं० सी० आ० वाराणसी, १९०२ ई० पृ० १४१ .

२. श्रीधरस्वामिना गौणीवृत्तिः भिन्नेवेत्युक्तम् ।
आशाधरः भट्टः, **त्रिवेणिका**, भारतीय साहित्यविद्यालयः, वाराणसी, १९५७ ई० ३२ पृष्ठे समुद्धृतम् ।

३. लक्षणाविशेष एव गौणीवृत्तिः । तयोः सम्बन्धमूलत्वाविशेषात् ।
अजितसेनः, **अलङ्कारचिन्तामणिः** भारतीयज्ञानपीठम्, काशी, १९७३ ई० पृ. २६६

४. लक्षणातो भिन्ना गौणीति ये मन्यन्ते तन्मतं रिक्ततरमिति सूचनपरम् ।
काव्यप्रकाशः सटीकः (टी० **चण्डीदासः**' जयकृष्णदासः विद्याविलासमुद्रणालयः वाराणसी, १९३३ ई० पृ० ५१

५. **सादृश्येतरसम्बन्धा शुद्धास्ता सकला अपि ।**
सादृश्यात्तु मता गौण्यस्तेन षोडशभेदिता ॥
विश्वनाथः, **साहित्यदर्पणम्**, भारतीयविद्याप्रकाशनम्, दिल्ली, १९७८ ई० पृ० ९९

विद्यानाथो (१४ वीं० श०) गौणीं लक्षणाभेदरूपेणाङ्गीकृतवान् यतो हि उभयत्रापि सम्बन्धानुपपत्तिः मुख्यार्थबाधः वा कारणम् ।[1]

साहित्यरत्नाकरकारो धर्मसूरिरपि गौण्याः पृथगस्तित्वं निराकुर्वन् मीमांसकान् प्रति ब्रूते 'अग्निर्माणवकः' इत्यत्र अग्निगतपैङ्गल्यादिगुणानां सादृश्यान्माणवकमग्निशब्देन समुच्चरन्तो येऽत्र गौणीवृत्तिं स्वीकुर्वन्तो गौण्याः स्थानं लक्षणातो भिन्नं मन्यन्ते तान्पृच्छामः, सम्बन्धानुपपत्तयो मुख्यार्थबाधादयो वा लक्षणायां कारणानि सन्ति, तानि सर्वाणि इहापि सन्ति न वा ? यदि सन्ति लक्षणाव्यवहारेण किमपराद्धम् ? यद्यत्र लक्षणाप्रयोजकसम्बन्धानामभावः स्वीक्रियते चेत्तदपि न समीचीनम्, कथं चेत्तेषां दुरपह्नवत्वात् । अन्यच्च अग्निमाणवकयोः कियानपि दुर्निरीप्यः किं न भवेत् किन्तु सः सादृश्यकोटचामेव समापतति ।

अतोऽत्र लक्षणा स्वीकरणमेव वरम्[2] ।

जगदीशतर्कालङ्कारो (१६५३ खी०) गौणीवृत्तिं लक्षणायामेवान्तर्भावयन् ब्रवीति 'अग्निर्माणवक' इत्यादिस्थलेषु लक्षणया अग्न्यादिसादृश्यमर्थाद् अग्निसदृशतेजस्वितायुक्तस्य माणवकस्य प्रतीतिर्जायते ।[3] तर्कालङ्कारेण लक्षणाभेदवर्णनावसरे

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१ गौणीवृत्तिरपि लक्षणा प्रभेद एव, सम्बन्धानुपपत्तिमूलत्वात् । विद्यानाथः, प्रतापरुद्रीयम्, राजकीयग्रन्थमालाधिकारी मुंबई, १९०९ ई० पृ० ४५

२. आचार्याः पुनरग्निर्माणवकः इत्यत्र अग्निपैङ्गल्यादिगुणसादृश्यान्माणवकेऽग्निशब्दप्रवृत्तिरिति गौणी नाम वृत्त्यन्तरमुररीचक्रिरे । तथा चोक्तम्—

अग्निस्वलक्षितादर्थाद् यत्पैङ्गल्यादि गम्यते ।
तेन माणवकेबुद्धिः सादृश्यादुपजायते ।। इति ।।

तान्पृच्छामः सम्बन्धानुपपत्तिप्रयोजनानि खलु लक्षणाबीजानि । तानीहापि सन्ति किम् ? न सन्ति वा ? आद्ये किमपराद्धं तत्र लक्षणाव्यवहारेण । न द्वितीयः, तेषां दुरपह्नवत्वात् । नन्वत्र सम्बन्धो दुर्निरूपः । कस्तवायमभिप्रायः ? अभिधेयाविनाभावो न सम्भवतीति चेत्, मा सम्भवतु, सादृश्यं तु भविष्यति । नहि स एव सम्बन्धो लक्षणोपयोगीति निर्बन्धः ।

धर्मसूरिः, **साहित्यरत्नाकरः**, उस्मानिया विश्वविद्यालयः, हैदराबाद, १९७२ ई० पृ० २७ ।

३. गौणीवृत्तिरपि लक्षणैव, यथाऽग्निर्माणवकः गौर्वाहीकः अत्र लक्षणया अग्न्यादिसादृश्यं प्रतीयते ।

जगदीशतर्कालङ्कारः, **तर्कामृतम्**, चौ० विद्या० वाराणसी, १९७३ ई० पृ० ५१

लक्षणया सह गौण्या चर्चा नैव विहिता।[1] अतोऽनुमीयते स मीमांसकविचारधाराया विरोधमेव नैव करोति अपितु तद्विचारधारामुपेक्ष्यते च।

धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्रः (१५६०खी०) तदनुयायिनो वेदान्तिनश्च गौणीं पृथग्वृत्तिरूपेण नैवाङ्गीचक्रिरे। एते लक्षितलक्षणायामेव गौणीमन्तर्भावयन्ति। तेषां मान्यतास्ति 'यत्सिंहो माणवकः' इत्यादिस्थले सिंहशब्दवाच्यस्य सम्बन्धिनो ये शौर्यक्रौर्यादयो धर्मास्तादृशक्रौर्यादिसम्बन्धान्माणवकस्य प्रतीतिर्लक्षणया वृत्त्यैव भवति, अत उक्तस्थले गौणीवृत्तिस्वीकरणमसमीचीनम्।[2] **कणादतर्कवागीशेन** (१५६०खी०) गौणीलक्षणयोरभेदः स्वीकृतः। भाषारत्ने स प्रोक्तवान् यन्नैयायिकप्रभृतय आचार्या गुणयोगादेषा गौणी लक्षणा भवति इत्युक्त्वा वृत्त्यन्तरमस्या अपाकुर्वते, वस्तुतो गौणीलक्षणाया आधार सादृश्यात्मकसम्बन्ध एव भवति।[3]

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१. **जहत्स्वार्थाजहत्स्वार्थाऽऽधुनिकादयः।**
लक्षणाविविधास्ताभिर्लक्षकं स्यादनेकधा॥

जगदीशतर्कालङ्कारः, **शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिका,** चौ० सं० सी० आ० वाराणसी, १९६३ ई० पृ० १५४

२. गौण्यपि लक्षितलक्षणैव। यथा सिंहो माणवकः इत्यत्र सिंहशब्दवाच्यसम्बन्धिक्रौर्यादिसम्बन्धेन माणवकस्य प्रतीतिः।

धर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्रः, **वेदान्तपरिभाषा,** चौखम्बा संस्कृतपुस्तकालयः, वाराणसी, १९३७ ई० पृ० १२१

३. नैयायिकादयस्तु गुणयोगादेषा गौणी लक्षणेति व्याचक्षाणा वृत्त्यन्तरत्वमस्या प्रतिक्षिपन्ति तत्र सादृश्यात्मकसम्बन्धो लक्षणागौणी। कणादतर्कवागीशः, **भाषारत्नम्,** कलकत्ता-संस्कृतसाहित्यपरिषद् भवनम्, कलकत्ता, १९३६ ई० पृ० २१६

तथैव—लक्षमाणा जाड्यादयः तैरेव यदि योगः शक्यसम्बन्धस्तदा गौणीवृत्तिरिति।

काव्यप्रकाशः सटीक (टी० भीमसेनः) चौ० सं० सी० आ० वाराणसी, सं० १९१४, पृ० ७१

अप्पयदीक्षितः (१६ वीं० श०) मीमांसकमतं खण्डयन्नाह—सादृश्यस्यापि सम्बन्धसत्वात् गौण्यास्समावेशो लक्षणायां भवितुमर्हति । अतः सादृश्यगर्भाद्गौणी तदन्यसम्बन्धाच्छुद्धा चेति लक्षणाया द्वैविध्यम् ।[1]

नागेशं विहाय वैयाकरणा लक्षणावृत्तिं नैवामनन्ति इति तु प्रथितचरमेव । **नागेश** (१७ वीं० श०) गौण्याः पृथगस्तित्वस्य पूर्णप्रतिवादं व्यदधात् ।[2] **अन्नंभट्ट** (१६-१७ वीं० श०) स्वकीये तर्कसंग्रहे तदीयां दीपिकाभिधायां स्वोपज्ञटीकायां गौणीं लक्षणातोऽभिन्नामेव मेने यतो हि गौण्यपि गुणसम्बन्धरूपा लक्षणैव ।[3]

गोकुलनाथोपाध्यायः (१७०६ खी०) काव्यप्रकाशस्य टीकायां नृसिंहस्य मतमुपन्यस्तवान् । गौण्याः पृथगस्तित्वमनङ्गीकुर्वता तेन कथितं यद् गौणी पृथग्वृत्तिर्नैव । इयमेव ज्ञापनाय सारोपासाध्यवसाने भेदे शुद्धायामेव न भवतः गौण्यामपि भवतः ।[4]

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१. तत्सादृश्येन प्रतिपादकत्वस्वरूपतया गौण्यपि लक्षणाप्रभेद एव .... तस्मात्सादृश्यगर्भतदन्यसम्बन्धनिमित्ततया गौणी शुद्धा चेति लक्षणाया एव द्वैविध्यम् ।

अप्पयदीक्षितः, **वृत्तिवार्त्तिकम्**, निर्णयसागरमुद्रणालयः, मुंबई, १६४० ई० पृ० १८

२. यत्तु गौणी न लक्षणान्तर्गता विशिष्टबुद्धियोगसम्बन्धे सत्यमेव लक्षणाऽप्रवृत्तेः............स्वनिरूपितविरोधाधिकरणत्वसम्बन्धेऽपि तस्याः क्लृप्तत्वात् ।

नागेशः, **वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तमञ्जूषा**, सम्पूर्णानन्दविश्वविद्यालयः वाराणसी १६७७ ई० पृ० २३

३. गौण्यपि लक्षणैव लक्ष्यमाणगुणसम्बन्धरूपा । यथा अग्निर्माणवक इति । **तर्कसंग्रहदीपिकाटीका** (टी० अन्नंभट्टः) उत्तरप्रदेशीयहिन्दीग्रन्थअकादमी, लखनऊ, १६७६ ई० पृ० १८८

४. गौणी तु न पृथग्वृत्तिरिति ज्ञापयितुं सारोपासाध्यवसाने विभज्यते । भेदाविमौ च सादृश्यात् ।

काव्यप्रकाशः सटीकः (टी० गोकुलनाथोपाध्यायः) पृ० ७०-७१

निष्कर्षरूपेण कथयितुं शक्यते यत्प्राचीनाऽऽलङ्कारिकाः प्रायो लक्षणायाः स्थाने गुणवृत्तिशब्दस्यामुख्यव्यापारशब्दस्य वा प्रयोगे दक्षा आसन्।[1] किन्तु ते मीमांसकविचारधारां तुच्छं मत्वा तान् नान्वयुः।[2]

पूर्वनिगदितचरमेव यद्गुणवृत्तेस्स्वरूपमानन्दवर्धनेन यथाङ्गीकृतं तत्तु मम्मट-प्रवर्तितलक्षणास्वरूपेण किञ्चित्साम्यं बिभर्ति, न पूर्णरूपेण। अभिनवगुप्तेन गुणशब्दस्य प्रयोगोऽमुख्यार्थे तथा साधारणधर्मस्यार्थे विहितः। गुणरूपाज्जायमानवृत्तिर्व्यापारो गुणवृत्तिरिति।[3] भट्टसोमेश्वरस्तन्त्रवार्तिकस्य गौणशब्दस्यार्थं विवृणोति-यत्र वाच्यार्थ आरोपितामवस्थां नैव लभते, तत्र प्रवर्तमानशब्दः मुख्य इत्युच्यते। गुणवृत्ति वं गौणीवृत्तेर्लक्षणम्।[4]

साररूपेण कथयितुं शक्यते यन्मीमांसका गौणीं लक्षणातो भिन्नां तथातिरिक्तां वृत्तिमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति। कुमारिलभट्टादिभिः लक्षणाया गौण्याश्च परिभाषानेकरूपेण विहिता। अष्टमशताब्दिपर्यन्तं गौण्या लक्षणायाश्च पूर्णपार्थक्यं दृष्टिपथमवतरति। आदौ मुकुलभट्टः स्वकीयायामभिधावृत्तिमातृकायां लक्षणाया द्वितीयभेदेन उपचारेण गौणीं

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१. गुणवृत्तिरमुख्योऽभिधाव्यापारः। ध्वन्यालोकलोचनम्, पृ० ३३

तथैव—काव्यलक्षणविधायिभिर्गुणवृत्तिरूपो वा। **ध्वन्यालोकलोचनम्**, पृ० ३४

२. लक्षणातो भिन्ना गौणीति ये तन्मतं रिक्ततरमिति सूचनपरम्।

काव्यप्रकाशः सटीक (टी० चण्डीदासः) जयकृष्णदासगुप्ता, विद्याविलास मुद्रणालयः, वाराणसी, १९३३ ई० पृ० ५१

तथैव—गौणीलक्षणातो भिन्नेति प्राभाकरः। तदयुक्तं तस्या लक्षणायामन्तर्भावादित्याह। प्रतापरुद्रीयम्, पृ० ४४४

३. गुणतया वृत्तिर्व्यापारो गुणवृत्तिः।
ध्वन्यालोकलोचनम्, पृ० ४७०-४७१

४. वस्तुवृत्त्या स एवार्थो यत्र न पुनरारोप्यते तत्र प्रवर्तमानः शब्दो मुख्य इत्युच्यते, इतरत्र तु जघनवदारोपात् पश्चात्प्रवृत्तेर्जघन्यो गुणवश्च्चारोपात् गौण इत्युच्यते।....गुणयोगवृत्तित्वं गौणीवृत्तिर्लक्षणम्।

न्यायसुधा, (तन्त्रवार्तिकटीका) टी० सोमेश्वरभट्टः, चौ० सं० बुक० डिपो० वाराणसी, १९०१ ई० पृ० ५००-५०२

लक्षणाया अङ्गरूपेणोपस्थापयन् स्थायिरूपेण गौण्याःसमावेशो लक्षणायामेवाचीकरत्। यस्यानुगमनमजितसेनविश्वनाथविद्यानाथधर्मसूरिनागेशाप्पयदीक्षितप्रभृतिभिरालङ्कारिकैर्नैव विहितमपितु दार्शनिका अपि मतमेनमन्वययुः।

यैश्च दार्शनिकैर्मम्मटमतमुररीकृतं तेषु जगदीशतर्कालङ्कारधर्मराजाध्वरीन्द्रकणादतर्कवागीशान्नंभट्टादयो मूर्धन्यं स्थानं बिभ्रति। सहैवापरतः कतिपयेप्याचार्या ये मीमांसकभावभरिता मम्मटमतचिखण्डिषव आसन् ते मम्मटमत नानुजग्मुः। तेष्वाचार्येषु शालिकनाथभोजराजरुय्यकगागाभट्टादय आलङ्कारिका दार्शनिकाश्च प्रामुख्यं भजन्ते।

यद्यपि पुरा लक्षणायाः कृते आलङ्कारिका अपि गुणवृत्तिशब्दं व्यवहरन्तो दृष्टिपथमायान्ति, किन्तु तैर्मीमांसकवद्गौण्या लक्षणायाः पार्थक्यं नैवोररीकृतम्। लक्षणायामेव गौण्यास्समावेशस्तैरभीष्ट आसीत्।

वैदिकवाङ्मये अलङ्काराः

डॉ० हरिनारायणदीक्षितः

नैनीताल

Although, rhetorics are a later development in literature, the Vedas are not completely devoid of such expressions. The *alaṃkāras* such as *upamā*, *śleṣa*, *anuprāsa*, *rūpaka*, *atiśayokti* etc. have come there in a very natural way.

यद्यपि काव्यशास्त्रस्य वेदशास्त्रेण सह कोऽपि साक्षात्सम्बन्धो न दरीदृश्यते, यतोहि प्रभुसम्मितशब्दप्रधानेभ्यो वेदशास्त्रेभ्यः शब्दार्थयोः गुणभावेन रसाङ्गभूत-व्यापारप्रवणतया विलक्षणस्य लोकोत्तरवर्णनानिपुणस्य कान्तासम्मितोपदेशदायकस्य काव्यस्य शास्त्रं सर्वथा भिन्नमेवास्ति, तथा शिक्षा-कल्प-व्याकरण-निरुक्त-ज्योतिष-छन्दोनामभिः षड्भिः वेदाङ्गभूतशास्त्रैरपि सह काव्यशास्त्रस्य न कापि साक्षात् संगतिर्नयनपथमवतरति; तथापि 'देवस्य पश्य काव्यं न ममार न जीर्यति' इत्यथर्ववेद (१०-८-३२) वचो विचिन्त्य एवञ्च तत्कर्तृकृते 'कविर्मनीषी परिभूः स्वयंभूः इत्यृग्वेदस्य ऋगंशे समुपलब्धं कविशब्दं विश्लिष्य वेदानामपि अजरामरकाव्यत्वसिद्धौ सत्यां तत्रापि काव्यत्वदर्शनाभिलाषा विदुषां विलसतितराम्। प्राचां भारतविदुषामपि इदमेव तात्पर्यमासीद् यद् अशेषाणां सत्यतावच्छिन्नविधानां प्रादुर्भावविकासौ वेदेभ्य एव भूतवन्तौ स्तः। एतादृशं किमपि ज्ञानं नास्ति सम्प्रति यस्य मूलं वेदेषु न भवेत्। विण्टरनित्स-मैक्समूलर-पीटरपीटर्सन-याकोबि-रॉथप्रभृतयो नूतनाः पाश्चात्त्यवि-पश्चिदपाश्चिमाः अपि ऋग्वेदं विश्वसाहित्यस्य प्राचीनतमं ग्रन्थं मन्यन्ते। वेदशब्दोऽपि ज्ञानार्थक एवास्ति। अस्माद्धेतोः संसारस्य सर्वविधं नाम ज्ञानं ज्ञानप्रकारो वा वेदेषु लब्धुं शक्यते।

भारतीय-ज्ञान-सूर्योऽपि ऋग्वेदकाले एव उदयं प्राप्तवानासीत् । अहं सर्वप्रथमन्तु ऋग्वेदस्य प्रारम्भिकीं साहित्यिकीं सुषमामवलोकयामि । आस्माकीनाः पूर्वजाः उद्दामिन्याः निरङ्कुशायाः प्रकृतेः उन्मुक्ते मनोहरे प्राङ्गणे निवासं कुर्वन्ति स्म । अतः काले काले प्रकृतिः स्वीयकृपाकोपाभ्यां तान् प्रभावयति स्म । तदानीं प्रकृतिप्रभाविताः ते पूर्वजाः प्राकृतिकीं शक्तिं तस्याः कृपावृद्धये कोपशान्तये वा एकाग्रमनसा स्तुवन्ति स्म । हृदयान्तरालाद् विनिर्गताः तेषां ताः स्तुतयो भृशं मार्मिक्यः सौन्दर्यवत्यश्च भवन्ति स्म । अतएव तत्र सर्वत्र अनायासेन एवागतं स्वाभाविकं काव्यत्वं विदुषां मनोहरणाय कल्पतेतरामेव ।

केषाञ्चिद् विदुषां तु कथनमस्ति यत् वेदेषु ध्वनि-गुण-रस-रीत्यलङ्काराः सर्वे एव काव्यशोभाधायका भेदाः सन्ति, सर्वञ्च तैः रूपक-उत्प्रेक्षा-अतिशयोक्ति-व्यतिरेक-श्लेषादीनामलङ्काराणां तु केचित् संकेता अपि प्रदर्शिताः सन्ति[1] ; किन्तु डा० एस० के डे महोदयाय वेदेषु अलङ्कारबाहुल्यदर्शनं नैव रोचते ।[2] अयं महोदयो वेदेषु काव्यत्वमलङ्कारत्वं वा मन्यते तु, किन्तु काव्यत्वस्य अलङ्कारवत्वस्य तत्र किमपि विशिष्टं महत्त्वमुररीकर्त्तुमयं न सज्जितो भवति ।

मामकीना अल्पीयसी शेमुषी तु इदमेव निश्चेतुमीहते यत् लौकिकसंस्कृत-कविताकामिनीकान्तकलेवरक्रान्तमानसाः कालिदासीयोपमामाधुरीमत्ताः महाकविदण्डि-पदलालित्यलीनचेतसो बाणभट्टीयरसभावपेशलतापाशबद्धाः भावुकाः सहृदयहृदयाः सुकुमारमतयो विपश्चितो भवन्तु नाम वेदवाङ्मये काव्यमाधुरीप्राप्तिप्रयत्ने व्यर्थ-परिश्रमाः, किन्तु निर्विशेषमतयो विद्वांसस्तु तत्रापि स्थाने-स्थाने काव्यात्मकं सौन्दर्यं नयनपथातिथीकर्त्तुं प्रभवन्त्येव ।

अथाहं कतिपयानि एतादृशानि उदाहरणानि प्रस्तुतीकरोमि यानि वैदिक-वाङ्मये अलङ्काराणाम् अव्याजमनोहरीं हृत्तन्त्रीझङ्कारिणीं सत्तां सूचयितुमेव नहि, अपितु निर्धारयितुमपि क्षमन्ते ।

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१. (क) आचार्यविश्वेश्वरः स्वकृतकाव्यप्रकाशटीकाभूमिकायाम् ।

(ख) पी० वी० काणे महोदयः स्वकृते 'हिस्ट्री आफ संस्कृत पोएटिक्स' ग्रन्थे हिन्द्यामनूदिते-४०५-४०८ पृष्ठेषु ।

(ग) श्री एच्० एस्० डिवेकरः, 'ले फ्ल्योर द रेतोरिक द लॉंद' नाम्नो ग्रन्थस्य द्वितीयपरिच्छेदे । अयं ग्रन्थः पेरिसे १९३० ख्रिष्टाब्दे प्रकाशितोऽस्ति ।

२. दृश्यतां तस्य 'हिस्ट्री आफ संस्कृत पोएटिक्स ग्रन्थस्य प्रथमभागे ३४१ तमं पृष्ठम् ।

सर्वप्रथमं सर्वालङ्काराणां मूलभूता[3] उपमा[4] एव भवन्नयनयोरुपहारीक्रियते। यथा—

सूर्यो देवीमुषसं रोचमानां मर्यो न योषामभ्येति पश्चात् ॥

ऋग्वेदे १/११५/२)

अत्रायं भाव —

सरणशीलः सूर्यो देदीप्यमानाम् उषसं तथैव अनुधावति अनुसरति वा यथा (रिरंसुः) मनुष्यः सुन्दरीं युवतिमनुसरति। अत्र ऋषिदृष्टौ सूर्यः उपमेयः, तस्य मनुष्यः उपमानम्; एवमेव उषाः उपमेया, तस्याः युवतिः (योषा) उपमानम्; इवार्थको वैदिको 'न' शब्द एव उपमावाचकः शब्दः; अनुधावनमनुसरणं वा साधारणधर्मः। विचार्यतान्नाम तावत् यदत्र उपमायाः सर्वेषामेवाङ्गानां विद्यमानत्वात् पूर्णोपमा केषां सचेतसां मनो नाहरति ? यथा वा—

परा हि मे विमन्यवः पतन्ति वस्य इष्टये।
वयो न वसतीरुप ॥

— (ऋग्वेदे १/१८/४)

अस्यामृचि ऋषेः शुनःशेपस्य मन्युरहिताः बुद्धयः वसुमते जीवनाय तथैव परापतन्ति यथा पक्षिणो नीडाय परापतन्ति। अत्रापि उपमेयोपमानभावो हृदयहरः प्रतिभाति। यथा बुद्धयः उपमेयाः, तासां पक्षिण उपमानम, इवार्थको 'न' शब्द एव अत्रापि उपमावाचकः शब्दोऽस्ति, परापतनं प्रत्यावर्तनं च साधारणधर्मो दृश्यते।

यथा वा—

प्र तद्विष्णुः स्तवते वीर्येण
मृगो न भीमः कुचरो गिरिष्ठाः।
यस्योरुषु त्रिषु विक्रमणे-
ष्वधिक्षियन्ति भुवनानि विश्वा ॥

(ऋग्वेदे १/१५४/२)

अस्मिन् मन्त्रे तु श्लेषपुष्टोपमायाः सौन्दर्यं हृदयहरत्वं वा दर्शनीयतायाः सीमानमेव स्पृशति हृदयतन्त्र्याश्च ताराणि झङ्करोति।

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३. **उपमैका शैलूषी संप्राप्ता चित्रभूमिकाभेदान्।**
रञ्जयति काव्यरङ्गे नृत्यन्ती तद्विदां चेतः ॥

— अप्पयदीक्षितः चित्रमीमांसायामुपमानिरूपणारम्भे।

४. साद‍ृश्यं सुन्दरं वाक्यार्थोपस्कारकमुपमालंकृतिः।

— पण्डितराज जगन्नाथो **रसगङ्गाधरे।**

ऋचो भावोऽस्ति यद् भीमः आकृत्यैव भयङ्करः, कुचरः कुत्सितं जीवघात-पुरस्सरं चरति यः सः कुचरः कुत्सिताचरणशीलः; गिरिष्ठा; पर्वतादिप्रदेशवर्त्तिगह्वर-वासी मृगः सिंह इव भीमः शत्रुभयदः कुचरः = कुषु सर्वासु भूमिषु (त्रिषु लोकेष्विति-चरति यः स कुचरः सर्वव्यापी, गिरिष्ठाः गिरि = मन्त्ररूपायां वाचि तिष्ठति यः स गिरिष्ठाः (सप्तम्या असुक्) विष्णुः वीर्येण (हेतुना) सर्वैः स्तूयते ।

अत्र विष्णुः उपमेयः, तस्य मृगः (सिंहः) उपमानम् । सादृश्यार्थको वैदिको 'न' शब्द एव उपमावाचकः शब्दः तथा स्तुतिविषयता एव उभयोः साधारणधर्मः । भीमत्वं कुचरत्वं गिरिष्ठत्वञ्च श्लेषसाहाय्येन उभयधर्मीणि सन्ति ।

यथा वा—

रथीव कशयाश्वाँ अभिक्षिपन्

आविर्दूतान् कृणुते वर्ष्याँ३ अह ।

(ऋग्वेदे ५/८३/३)

एष भावः—

यथा रथी कशया अश्वान् अभिक्षिपन् प्रेरयन् स्वदूतान् भटान् आविष्कुरुते तद्वदेव असौ पर्जन्योऽपि मेघान् प्रेरयन् वर्ष्यान् वर्षणशीलान् तान् मेघान् दूतान् इव आवि-ष्कुरुते । अत्र पर्जन्य उपमेयः, तस्य रथी उपमानम् । एवमेव मेघाः उपमेयाः, अश्वा उपमानम् । इव शब्द उपमावाचकः । आविष्करणमुभयोः साधारणधर्मः ।

यथा वा

अयमु ते समतसि कपोत इव गर्भधिम् ।

वचस्तच्चिन्न ओहसे ।।

(सामवेदे पूर्वार्चिके २/६/८)

अयं भावो यद् यथा कपोतः सत्वरं स्वकपोतीं प्राप्नोति तथैव इन्द्रोऽपि सत्वरं स्वयज्ञं (स्वयज्ञवेदिम्) प्राप्नोति । अत्रापि उपमानोपमेयाद्युपमावयवाः न कस्यापि तद्विदो निगूढाः ।

न केवला उपमा एव लभ्यते वेदेषु, अपितु मालोपमा[५] अपि दरीदृश्यते—

'अभ्रातेव पुंस एति प्रतीची

गर्तारुगिव सनये धनानाम् ।

जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः

उषा हस्रेव निरिणीते अप्सः ।।

(ऋग्वेदे १/१२४/७)

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५. मालोपमा यदेकस्योपमानं बहु दृश्यते ।

— विश्वनाथः साहित्यदर्पणे १०/२६ पूर्वार्धे ।

अत्र एकस्या एव उषसश्चत्वारि उपमानानि राजन्ते ।

अथाहमेकमेतादृशमुदाहरणं प्रस्तौमि यस्मिन् न केवलाया उपमाया एव चाक्यचिक्यता, अपितु विरोधाभासस्यापि मनोरमा सत्ता आन्दोलयति तद्विदां चेतः । दृश्यताम्—

'उत त्वः पश्यन् न ददर्श वाचम्
उत त्वः शृण्वन् न शृणोत्येनाम् ।
उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसस्रे
जायेव पत्ये उशती सुवासाः ॥

(ऋग्वेदे १०/७१/४)

अयं भावः—

अनेके जनाः विद्यां पठन्ति, किन्तु तस्याः रहस्यं न विदितं भवति; एवमेव अनेके जनाः वाचो रहस्यं शृण्वन्ति; किन्तु तेषां बुद्धौ तद् रहस्यं स्फुरति नैव । किन्तु केचिद् एतादृशो बुद्धिमन्तो भाग्यवन्तो वा सन्ति येषां समक्षं वाणी स्वीयं सर्वमपि गुप्तरहस्यं तथैव प्रकटीकरोति यथा रिरंसुः काचिद् अलङ्कृता पत्नी पत्युः समक्षं स्वीयं समर्पयति ।

अत्र वाग् उपमेया, तस्यां उपमानमस्ति जाया । इव शब्द एव उपमावाचकः, आत्मसमर्पणमुभयोः साधारणधर्मोऽस्ति । अत्र उपमानमतीव श्रृङ्गारप्रेरकमस्ति, किन्त्वस्ति ह्यनवद्यम् । अस्य ऋचः पूर्वभागे (उत त्वः पश्यन् न ददर्श वाचम्, उत त्वः श्रृण्वन् न श्रृणोत्येनाम् ।) विरोधाभासालङ्कारस्यापि महत्सुन्दरमुदाहरणद्वयं वरीवृत्यते । 'पश्यन्नपि न पश्यति' 'श्रृण्वन्नपि न श्रृणोति' इत्यहो कीदृशो मनोहरो विरोधः ? एवञ्च परमरहस्यभूता सा वाक्; अतएव दृष्ट्वाप्येनां न द्रष्टुं (ज्ञातुं) पारयति कश्चिद्; एवमेव श्रुत्वापि एनां न श्रोतुं प्रभवति कोऽपीति तत्परिहारोप्यत्याह्लादकरो मनोरमश्च ।

एतदनन्तरं मया एका एतादृशी ऋक् प्रस्तूयते यस्यामतिशयोक्ति-अनुप्रास-विभावना-विशेषोक्तिनाम्नां चतुर्णाम् अलङ्काराणां मनोहरी सत्ता पाठकानां मनांसि हठात् आवर्जयति । दृश्यतां सेयम्—

द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया
समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते ।
तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्ति
अनश्नन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति ॥

(ऋग्वेदे १/१६४/२०)

मन्त्रस्य भावोऽस्ति यत् शोभनपक्षवन्तौ सहनिवासिनौ सखायौ द्वौ पक्षिणौ एकमेव वृक्षमधिश्रयन्तौ स्तः। तयोरन्यतरस्तु वृक्षस्थितं फलं भुङ्क्ते, किन्तु अन्यः फलम् अभुञ्जान एव स्वीयं तेजः प्रकटयतीति ।

वस्तुतस्त्वस्मिन् मन्त्रे दर्शनशास्त्रस्य ईश्वर-जीव-प्रकृतिसंज्ञकानां त्रयाणां मूलभूतानां तत्त्वानां प्रतिपादनं रूपकालङ्कारस्य समाश्रयेण कृतमस्ति। यथा हि – ईश्वरः प्रकृतिमाध्यमेन सृष्टिमुत्पादयति, जीवश्च तस्यां सृष्टौ स्वकीयकर्मानुसारेण सुखदं दुःखदं वा फलं भुङ्क्ते। किन्तु ईश्वरः प्रकृतिजं फलमभुञ्जान एव सर्वं शास्ति, सर्वं च द्योतयतीति भावः। परन्तु ऋषिणा मन्त्रेऽस्मिन्नीश्वर-जीव-प्रकृतीनां वर्णनं, तेषां नामानि न गृहीत्वा, पक्षिद्वयवृक्षनामभिः विहितमस्ति। अहमाशङ्के यदस्यामृचि केचिद् विद्वांसो रूपकालङ्कारं सम्भाव्य अस्या इत्थम्भूतां व्याख्यां कर्त्तुकामा भवितुं शक्नुवन्ति यत् प्रकृतिः एकविशालवृक्षरूपा विद्यते। ईश्वर-जीवौ अपि पक्षिद्वयरूपौ स्तः, तौ च पक्षिरूपौ ईश्वरजीवौ वृक्षरूपां प्रकृतिमाश्रयेते। तयोः ईश्वरजीवयोरन्यतरः एको जीवस्तु कर्मानुसारेण सुखं दुःखं वा अश्नाति; किन्तु अन्यः पक्षी अर्थात् ईश्वरस्तु फलं न भुञ्जान एव सर्वतः स्वीयं सौन्दर्यं तेजो वा वितनोतितराम्। किन्तु मह्यन्तु अत्र अतिशयोक्तिरेव रोचते न तु रूपकम्। यतोहि मम मतेन रूपक-अतिशयोक्तिभेदिका संस्फुटा रेखा उपमेयस्य सत्ता असत्ता एवं वर्तते, न तु अभेदप्रतीतिः। यतोहि सा तु उभयत्र लभ्यास्ति। मामकोऽयं भावोऽस्ति यद् यत्र उपमेयं शब्दोपात्तं भवेत् तत्र रूपकमेव, न तु अतिशयोक्तिः, यत्र च उपमेयं शब्दोपात्तं भवेत्, अर्थात् तस्य दर्शनमेव न भवेत् केवलमुपमानमेव शब्दोपात्तं स्यात्, तत्रातिशयोक्तिरेव ज्ञातव्या। यथा—

'मुखचन्द्र उदेति' इत्यत्र रूपकम्। यतोहि अत्र उपमेयभूतस्य मुखस्य शब्दोपात्तता अर्थात् शब्दतः उपादानं (ग्रहणं) विद्यते। किन्तु मुखं निगीर्य अर्थात् शब्दतोऽनुदीर्य 'चन्द्र उदेति' इति कथने तु अतिशयोक्तिरेव मान्यास्ति। यतोहि अत्र उपमेयभूतस्य मुखस्य शब्दोपात्तता अर्थात् शब्दतः उपादानं (ग्रहणं) नैव विद्यते।

एवम्भूतया स्पष्टेक्षिकया विचारे विहिते सति दृश्यते यत् प्रकृते मन्त्रे परमात्म-जीवात्मरूपोपमेयस्य (विषयस्य) दर्शनं (शब्दोपात्तता) नास्ति। अत्र तु केवलं पक्षिद्वयरूपोपमानमेव (विषयी एव) दरीदृश्यते, तेन च पक्षिद्वयरूपोपमानेन ईश्वर-जीवरूपोपमेयस्य सर्वथा निगरणं विहितमस्ति। तस्मादत्रातिशयोक्तिरेव अङ्गीविधेयास्ति बुधैर्न तु रूपकम्। श्रीमदप्पयदीक्षितेन एतादृशी अतिशयोक्तिः रूपकातियोक्तिसंज्ञया व्याख्यातास्ति[६]।

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६. रूपकातिशयोक्तिः स्यान्निगीर्याध्यवसानतः।
पश्य नीलोत्पलद्वन्द्वान्निःसरन्ति शिताः शराः॥
कुवलयानन्दे कारिका ३६

न केवलन्तावदेतावदेव, अपितु अस्मिन् मन्त्रे 'सुपर्णा' 'सयुजा' 'सखायः' 'समानं' 'परिषस्वजाते' इत्यादिशब्देषु सकारस्य अनुप्रासेव स्वर्णे सौरभसंयोगोऽपि सम्पादितोऽस्ति। एवमेव मन्त्रस्थिते 'अनश्नन्नन्यः'. इति नकारस्य पौनः पुन्येन प्रयोगोऽपि सचेतसां चेतस्सु अनुप्रासस्य मधुरिमाणं परिवर्धयन्नस्ति, अत्रैव च 'अनश्नन् अन्यः अभिचाकशीति' (अर्थात् 'फलम् अभुञ्जानः सौन्दर्यं वितनोति) इति शब्दपुञ्जे विभावनालङ्कारस्यापि स्थितिः द्रढीयसी दरीदृश्यते। यतो हि यत्र हेतुं विनापि कार्यं भवेत् तत्र विभावना मन्यते[7] अत्र सौन्दर्यप्रकाशनरूपस्य कार्यस्य उत्पत्तिः सौन्दर्यहेतुभूतफलभक्षणं विनैव वर्णिता। अतो विभावना दुर्निवारास्ति।

एवमेव विशेषोक्तिरपि अस्मिन् मन्त्रे लोचनगोचरीभवति। यतोहि कारणे सत्यपि यत्र कार्योत्पत्तिर्न भवेत् तत्र विशेषोक्तिर्मन्यते[8]। फलाभक्षणं सौन्दर्याभाव-रूपकार्यस्य कारणमस्ति। अत्र 'अनश्नन् इति पादेन ईश्वरकर्तृकफलाभक्षणरूपकारणे सत्यपि 'अभिचाकषीति' इति सौन्दर्यबोधकक्रियापदेन सौन्दर्याभावरूपकार्योत्पत्तेरभावो-द्योत्यमानोऽस्ति। अतोऽत्र विशेषोक्तिरङ्लकारोऽप्यपरिहार्योऽस्ति।

अपि च, अस्मिन् मन्त्रे 'सयुजा' 'सखाया' इति विशेषणद्वयेन परमात्म-जीवात्मनोर्नित्यत्वं सच्चित्रूपत्वञ्चापि ध्वन्येते। अस्माद्धेतोः इमौ शब्दौ पदद्योत्यध्वने-रपि उदाहरणं भवितुमर्हतः। ईषद्विमर्शे कृते सत्येव चात्र माधुर्यगुणोऽपि स्फुटो भवन्नयनपद्धतिमवतरति।

इत्थमहमवलोकयामि यदस्यामेकस्यामेव ऋचि काव्यस्य भूयांसि तत्त्वानि विलसन्ति, यानि सहृदयहृदयप्रीणनाय सर्वथालं सन्तीत्यत्र न केषामपि धीजुषां विसंवादः सम्भवति। एवमेव अन्या अपीदृश्योऽनेका ऋचो वर्तन्ते यासु सुधियां काव्यतत्त्वाव-लोकनाभिलाषः पूर्त्तिमेति। अत्र तासु कतिपया प्रस्तूयन्तेऽपि। यथा—

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्य पादा
द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति
महो देवो मर्त्याँ आविवेश॥

(ऋग्वेदे) ४/५८/३)

स्पष्टमस्ति यदस्यामृचि व्यतिरेकातिशयोक्तिनामानावुभावलङ्कारौ राजेतेतराम्। अस्मिन् मन्त्रे वैयाकरणानां ब्रह्मसहोदरस्य उपमेयभूतस्य वर्ण्यस्य अर्थात् विषयस्य

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७. विभावना विना हेतुं कार्योत्पत्तिर्यदुच्यते।

—विश्वनाथः साहित्यदर्पणे १०/६६ पूर्वार्धे।

८. सति हेतौ फलाभावे विशेषोक्तिः........।

—विश्वनाथः साहित्यदर्पणे १०/६७ पूर्वार्धे

'शब्दस्य' अध्यवसानं निगरणं विलोनीकरणं वा एकेन उपमानभूतेन विषयिणा महता वृषभेण कृतमस्ति । उपमेयं नात्र शब्दोक्तम् । अतोऽत्रातिशयोक्तिर्निर्बाधैव राजते ।

यदि च शृङ्गचतुष्टयवान् त्रिपात् सप्तहस्तयुक्तः शिरोद्वयसमेतः त्रिधा बद्धोऽयं वृषभः श्रङ्गद्वयवतः चतुष्पदः एकशिरोवतः ,एकत्रबद्धस्य च लौकिकस्य वृषभस्य अपेक्षया विलक्षणो मन्येत तदा तु व्यतिरेकालङ्कारमत्र[९] को नाम वारयितुमीष्टे ? एवमेव—

'द्वादशारं नहि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परिद्यामृतस्य ।

(ऋग्वेदे १/१६४/११)

इत्यत्रापि द्वादशारम् ऋतचक्रमन्यलौकिकचक्रापेक्षया विलक्षणं सद् व्यतिरेकालङ्कारद्योतनाय कल्पतेतराम् ।

उदात्तसम्पद्वर्णनरूपस्य उदात्तालङ्कारस्य[१०] उत्कृष्टमुदाहरणमपि अथर्ववेदे तत्र लभ्यते यत्र ऋषिणा भारतभूमेः स्वरूपं वैभवं महत्त्वञ्च समुपवर्णितानि सन्ति[११]। इदं स्थलमतीव हृदयहरं तथा देशभक्तिवीजाङ्कुरपोषकं विद्यते । एवमेव क्रियादीपकालंकारोऽपि[१२] तत्र द्रष्टुं शक्यते[१३] । परमेषोऽस्ति अपरिपक्वरूपेणैव ।

वर्णानुप्रासप्रियता शव्दानुप्रासप्रियता च वैदिकेषु ऋषिषु बाहुल्येन दृश्येते । लौकिककाव्यकाराणामनुप्रासालंकारस्य[१४] प्राणवती तनुस्तत्र नितरां परिस्फुटन्ती परिलक्ष्यते । यथाहि—

क—हंसः शुचिषद् वसुरन्तरिक्षसद् होता वेदिषद् अतिथिर्दुरोणसत् ।
नृषद् वरसद् ऋतसद् व्योमसद् अब्जा गोजा ऋतजा अद्रिजा ऋतम् ।।

(ऋग्वेदे ४/४०/५)

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९. उपमानाद् यदन्यस्य व्यतिरेकः स एव सः ।
—मम्मटः काव्यप्रकाशे

१०. क—लोकातिशयसम्पत्तिवर्णनोदात्तमुच्यते ।
यद्वापि प्रस्तुतस्याङ्गं महतां चरितं भवेत् ।।
—विश्वनाथः साहित्यदपणे १०/९४

११. अथर्ववेदे १२/१/३-१०

१२. वदन्ति वर्ण्यावर्ण्यानां धर्मैक्यं दीपकं बुधाः ।
—अप्पयदीक्षितः कुवलयानन्दे ४८ कारिकायाः पूर्वार्धे ।

१३. अथर्ववेदे १२/१/१

१४. क—अनुप्रासः शब्दसाम्यं वैषम्येऽपि स्वरस्य यत् ।
—विश्वनाथः साहित्यदर्पणे १०/३ पूर्वार्धे ।

ख—धूरसि धूर्व धूर्वन्तं धूर्व तं योऽस्मान् धूर्वति तं धूर्व यं वयं धूर्वामः।
देवानामसि वह्नितमं सस्नितमं पप्रितमं जुष्टतमं देवहूतमम् ॥
(यजुर्वेदे १/८)

ग—वेदोऽसि येन त्वं देव वेद देवेभ्यो वेदोऽभवस्तेन मह्यं वेदो भूयाः।
देवा गातुविदो गातुं वित्त्वा गातुमित..............................॥
(यजुर्वेदे २/२१)

घ—पवते हर्यतो हरिरति ह्वरांसि रंह्या।
(सामवेदे उत्तरार्चिके २/६/४)

अपि च **अथर्ववेदे** ६/९८/१

ङ—पलालानुपलालौ शर्कुं कोकं मलिम्लुचं पलीजकम्।
अथर्ववेदे ८/६/२)

प्रतीयते यत्लाटानुप्रासालङ्कार[१५] यमकालङ्कारश्चापि[१६] विदन्ति वैदिका ऋषयः। यतोहि **यजुर्वेदस्य** १/३ तथा १/३० सन्दर्भस्थलयोः, **अथर्ववेदस्य** च १४/२/५३-५८ स्थले लाटानुप्रासस्य अपरिपक्वं स्वरूपमुपलभ्यते; एवमेव **ऋग्वेदस्य** ५/२७/४ तथा ५/७६/२ स्थलयोः, **यजुर्वेदस्य** अष्टादशेऽध्याये तथा २३/१९ स्थले **सामवेदस्य** उत्तरार्चिके १/५/१ स्थले, अथर्ववेदस्य च १२/२/१४ स्थले यमकालङ्काराङ्कुरा लोचनातिथीभवन्ति। उपरिप्रदर्शितेषु अनुप्रासोदाहरणेषु 'ख' - 'ग' - इति संकेतितयोः उदाहरणयोरपि यमकं समुपलभ्यते।

ब्राह्मणग्रन्थेषु मूर्द्धन्यतां गते शतपथब्राह्मणे हित शब्दे (१/३/१/२५), वर्षशब्दे (२/२/३/७) महिषीशब्दे च (६/५/३/१) अनुभूयमानः श्लेषालंकारो विदुषां ध्यानाकर्षणाय सर्वथालमेवास्ति।

उपनिषत्स्वपि अलंकारवैभवं दरीदृश्यते। तत्र उपमा-रूपक-अनुप्रासविरोधाभाससदृशानामलङ्काराणां स्थितिश्चमत्करो त्येव सचेतसां चेतांसि। दृश्यताम्—

आसीनो दूरं व्रजति शयानो याति सर्वतः।
कस्तं मदामदं देवं मदन्यो ज्ञातुमर्हति ॥ (कठोपनिषदि १/२/२१)

अत्र विरोधाभासो मनो रमयति सुधियाम्।

रूपकस्य निदर्शनन्तु अतीव हृदयावर्जकं विद्यते। शरीरावयवेषु रथावयवानामारोपः कियान् मनोहर इति दृश्यतां तावत्—

आत्मानं रथिनं विद्धि शरीरं रथमेव तु।
बुद्धिं तस्य सारथिं विद्धि मनः प्रग्रहमेव च।
इन्द्रियाणि हयानाहुर्विषयांस्तेषु गोचरान्।
आत्मेन्द्रियमनोयुक्तं भोक्तेत्याहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ (कठोपनिषदि १/३/३-४)

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१५. विश्वनाथ : **साहित्यदर्पणे** १०/७
१६. विश्वनाथ : **साहित्यदर्पणे** १०/८

अथागम्यतां कृपया, भवतां समक्षमहमौपनिषदीम् उपमामुपस्थापयामि—

अरण्योर्निहितो जातवेदा गर्भ इव सुभृतो गर्भिणीभिः ।
दिवे दिव ईड्यो जागृवद्भिर्हविष्मद्भिर्मनुष्येभिरग्निः ।। (कठोपनिषदि २/१/८)

अथ मौण्डकोपनिषदीं रूपकच्छविमपि नयनविषयीकुर्वन्तु भवन्तः—

धनुर्गृहीत्वौपनिषदं महास्त्रं
शरं ह्युपासानिशितं संधयीत ।
आयम्य तद्भावगतेन चेतसा
लक्ष्यं तदेवाक्षरं सौम्य विद्धि ।। (मुण्डकोपनिषदि २/२/३)

अत्रायं भावो यद् उपनिषद्रूपिणि धनुषि उपासनारूपिणं शरं निधाय भावनारूपिण्या शक्त्या आकृष्य ब्रह्मरूपं लक्ष्यं वेधनीयम् । कथयन्तु महाशयाः, उपनिषदि धनुषः, उपासनायां शरस्य, भावनायां शक्तेः, ब्रह्मणि लक्ष्यस्य च आरोपो वस्तुतश्चेतश्चमत्कारी अस्ति न वा ?

मम मतेन त्वत्र दृढाकाट्यसिद्धान्तवतीषु उपनिषत्सु धनुरारोपो धनुषो दाढर्यं सूचयति, यल्लक्ष्याप्तये परमावश्यकं भवति । धनुर्धरस्य कृते, उपासना दैनन्दिनपरिष्कारात् तत्रारोपितशरे तीक्ष्णताभिव्यज्यते; इयं शरतीक्ष्णतापि लक्ष्यवेधाय महत्त्वपूर्णा; भावनायाः प्राबल्यं धनुराकर्षणसौविध्यद्योतनाय समर्थमस्ति । अक्षरपदेन 'न' क्षरति (नश्यति) यत् तद् अक्षरमिति व्युत्पत्त्या' लक्ष्यस्य दुर्भेद्यतापि द्योत्यते । अतोऽहं ब्रवीमि यदत्र पदद्योत्यध्वनेरपि हृदयहरश्चमत्कारो राजतेतराम् ।

एतावता गवेषणात्मकेन विश्लेषणेन मन्ये यद् वैदिकवाङ्मयेऽपि काव्यालंकाराः सन्ति । वैदिकवाङ्मयकालिका ऋषयो निजाध्यात्मविषयकभावाभिव्यक्तये यथा प्रयासं चक्रुः न तथा स्वमानसकोमलकान्तकामकल्पनाकलाकौशलकीर्त्तये । अतएव तेषां कृतिषु भावानाम् अतिसारल्येन अभिव्यक्तिकरणाय सहजरूपेण प्रयोगविषयीविधीयमाना उपमारूपक-व्यतिरेकातिशयोक्तिसदृशा अङ्गुलिगण्याः केचिदेव अलंकाराः समुपलभ्यन्ते; नतु सर्वविधाः । एतेषामपि उपलभ्यमानानामलंकाराणां तत्र यत्र-कुत्रचिदेव प्रयोगो नयनावनिमवतरति; न तु बहुत्र । यतोहि तत्र भूयिष्ठस्तु अंशो निरलंकार एवास्ति । अनुप्रासस्तु ध्वन्यात्मकताधायकत्वात् समेषामेव पुरातनानां नूतनानां च लेखकानामतिसहजोऽलंकारबन्धः । अतो नेदं विस्मयावहं यदि एष बाहुल्येन लभ्यते वेदेषु । आम्, इदन्तु अहं मनोबुद्धिभ्यामुभाभ्यामेव उररीकरोमि यद् क्वचित्क्वचित् उपमारूपकयोः प्रयोगाः लौकिककविकृता एतदीयाः प्रयोगा इवैव अतीव रमणीयाः सन्ति, येषां कानिचिन्निदर्शनानि अस्मिन्नेव शोधलेखे उपरिष्टात् मयोद्धृतेषूदाहरणेषु द्रष्टुमपि शक्यन्ते । परमीदृशानि स्थलानि समस्ते एव वैदिके वाङ्मये सन्ति न्यूनान्येव । अतोऽहमिममेव निष्कर्षं प्राप्नोमि यद् वैदिकवाङ्मये न तु सर्वविधानामाधुनिकानामलंकाराणामाशा विधेया, न वा तद् सर्वथा अलंकारराहित्यमेव परिकल्पनीयम् । इदं तु निश्चप्रचमेव ज्ञेयं यत् तदानीन्तने युगे साम्प्रतिकस्य साहित्यिकक्षेत्रस्य अलंकारमहीरुहो जन्म लब्धवानासीत्, स च स्वीयविभिन्नभेदशाखा-प्रशाखोद्भेदोन्मुखोऽप्यासीदित्यत्र नास्ति कश्चित्संशीतेरवसर इति स्वमनसि निर्णीय विरमामि विस्तरात् ।

REVIEWS

INDIAN LITERARY THEORIES—A REAPPRAISAL, by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, Meharchand Lachhmandas, Daryaganj, New Delhi, 1985. Pp. 10+292. Rs. 150.00.

As observed by Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy, the author of the illuminating anthology of essays on Sanskrit poetics under review, modern studies in this branch of Sanskrit have largely been confined to academic and scholastic issues including text critical ones or to chronological position of the writers and historical survey of various poetical concepts with copious exerpts, at times not very relevant, from writers both important as well as unimportant.

Dr. Krishnamoorthy has handled the various aspects and problems of Sanskrit poetics with a difference. His critical approach to the problems and his wide acquaintance with the poetical theories of Plato, Aristotle and other European masters have made his studies display a fresh thinking and insight and an element of comparative view and a distinct shift of emphasis to the integrated view of the different theories of Sanskrit poetics which otherwise tend to betray disparity in their respective attitudes. These traits of his studies, spread over more than four decades now, are uniformly observed in his writings including *Dhvanyāloka and its Critics* (1967 ; revised ed. 1982), *Some Thoughts on Indian Aesthetics* (1968), *Essays in Sanskrit Criticism* (1964 ; revised ed. 1974), *Studies in Indian Aesthetics and Criticism* (1979), and, lastly, *Indian Literary Theories—A Reappraisal* (1985), which is being reviewed here. His English translation of the *Dhvanyāloka* (1974 ; revised ed. 1982) and the *Vakroktijīvita* (1977) also testifies to his discerning insight into the minds of the original writers.

The work under review forms a collection of his essays on (1) a comparative study of the Indian and the Western thought on the aspects and problems of aesthetics, (2) some of the concepts of early Sanskrit poetics, and (3) major theorists. Some of the essays which attempt a critical appreciation of certain classics and classicists exemplify the norms of practical criticism as reflected in some of the works of the major Sanskrit theorists. Some of the most outstanding studies in this anthology are "Indian and Western Poetics", "*Alaṃkāras* in *Vālmīki-Rāmāyana*", "Ānandavardhana's Idea of *Rasa* as *Kāvyārtha* and *Kāvyātman*", "Kālidāsa in the Eyes of Kuntaka", "the Relevance of *Rasa* Theory to Modern Literature", and "Some Specimens of Practical Criticism". The essays, some of which were originally written for presentation and discussion at the learned assemblies, conferences and seminars and also for journals, eminently project the all-time relevance of Indian theories such as *rasa-dhvani, guṇa alaṃkāra* and *vakrokti*, which have been set, for the first time, in proper focus.

Taken in conjunction with the earlier collections of similar essays, fifty in number, this anthology of twentyfive essays covers a vast field of Sanskrit poetics ranging from the major theorists including Bharata, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Bhaṭṭa-tauta, Maṅgala, Ānandavardhana, Rājaśekhara, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Kuntaka, Ruyyaka, Jagannātha, Ajitasena, Vopadeva and Hemādri and also T. S. Eliot, A. K. Coomaraswamy, Aurobindo and Hiriyanna; major concepts and theories such as *kavi, kāvya, pratibhā, kāvyātman, alaṃkāra, guṇa, doṣa, prauḍhokti, rasa, dhvani, rasa-dhvani, rasābhāsa, aṅgi-rasa, sādhāraṇīkaraṇa, bhāva, sādṛśya, tātparya, lakṣaṇa, artha, śabdārtha-haraṇa, samāsa* and *chandas* and also art, art experience, beauty and aesthetic experience; critical appreciation of certain classicists and their works (including Kālidāsa, Aśvaghoṣa, the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, and modern Sanskrit drama) and some insightful historical, regional and comparative studies to some text-critical

problems and other related matters such as the *pramāṇa* or criteria in Indian aesthetics and religio-philosophical background and its impact on Indian poetics.

The writer of these brilliant essays has stated in the preface of his latest anthology that it was his last work in the series of essays and studies in the field of Sanskrit poetics and aesthetics. The world of Sanskrit scholarship, however, expects many more writings from the pen of this 63 year-old mellowed savant of Indian poetics—an area (unfortunately) not frequently trodden by really critical minds capable of injecting original and insightful thinking into the subject, and, therefore, wishes that the above words of the scholar do not come true and that we continue for years to come receive the golden harvest of his facile pen. Significantly, Prof. V. K. Gokak, who has contributed *foreword* to the volume, has wished Dr. Krishnamoorthy to write a book on Indian aesthetics, which gives a comprehensive account of the entire span of Indian aesthetics, giving their due place in it to the masters, stating the position that is universally agreed upon on each topic, mentioning the deviations in passing, and reconciling various points of view by bridging up differences, for, as he observes, Dr. Krishnamoorthy is one of the few who are competent to write a volume of this kind.

The volume has been neatly printed and nicely got-up by its Publishers, Meharchand Lachhmandas, New Delhi, who are known for performing their job with dedication and accomplishing it well. Both the veteran writer and the Publishers deserve felicitations for the job they have done and done admirably well.

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EKĀVALĪ of Vidyādhara, with the commentary *Tarala* of Mallinātha. Edited by Dr. P. Ramachandrulu. Department of Sanskrit, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1981. Pp. 16+382. Rs. 50.00.

The *Ekāvalī*, which was written by Vidyādhara, a protege of Narasiṃhadeva of Utkala sometime between the last quarter of the 13th and the first quarter of the 14th century A.D., sets the model for such writings in Sanskrit poetics as have their illustrative verses composed by their writers to glorify their patrons. As for the poetical doctrines, the work closely follows the *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa that establishes on a firm ground the *rasa-dhvani* theory of Ānandavardhana. The illustrative verses of the *Ekāvalī* eulogise the glory of the king Narasiṃhadeva who was perhaps the Kesari-narasiṃha (A.D. 1282–1307) or the Pratāpa-narasiṃha (A.D. 1307–27) of Utkala (modern Orissa). Though not much popular on account of its being a mere compilation of the views of earlier theorists and being a work of interest only for the Utkala readers, yet the work commands a special importance inasmuch as it sets a new genre of literature which combines a panegyric and a text on poetical theory at one place and inspires such later writings as the *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa*, the *Nañjarājayaśobhūṣaṇa*, the *Alaṃkāramañjūṣā* and the *Raghunāthabhūpatīya*. Besides, it provides a link, not unessential, in the chain of the history of development of poetical theories in Sanskrit.

The work, with the available commentary *Tarala* by Mallinātha, was first published by K. P. Trivedi in 1903 under Bombay Government Series, and was long out of print. The world of Sanskrit scholarship is, therefore, beholden to the Sanskrit Department of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, for having brought out the work under the General Editorship of Prof. Dr. P. G. Lalye. The editing of the work, along with Mallinātha's commentary on it, has been done by Dr. Pullela Sriramachandrulu on the

basis of its published edition referred to above and also the Telugu edition of the work. He has also supplied it with a learned introduction dealing with the time and nativity of the writer, his other writing (namely, *Kelirahasya*), the chapterwise contents of his work, and the life and works of the celebrated commentator Mallinātha (c. A.D. 1340–1445) who wrote on it his commentary called *Tarala*, signifying the central gem that makes an *ekāvalī* (a one-stringed necklace) acceptable to the aesthetic mind. The editor has also provided the work with four useful appendices, alphabetically listing (a) the *kārikās* of the work, (b) the illustrative stanzas, (c) the stanzas (both *kārikā* type and illustrative) cited in the work from other writings, and (d) such stanzas and passages cited by Mallinātha in his commentary.

Despite the fact that the volume suffers from printing mistakes and presentational defects which, it is hoped, would be removed in its subsequent edition, the publication is a welcome addition to the available literature on Sanskrit poetics in printed form. The Osmania University Department of Sanskrit, its Head, Prof. P. G. Lalye, and the editor of the volume, Dr. P. Ramachandrulu, have earned the gratitude of Sanskrit scholars in general and students of poetics in particular by bringing out this work and thereby fulfilling their long-felt need.

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BHALLAṬAŚATAKA of Bhallaṭa with Maheśvara's Sanskrit commentary. Edited, with Hindi and English translation and introduction, by Dr. Ved Kumari Ghai and Dr. Ram Pratap. Meharchand Lachhmandas, New Delhi, 1985. Pp. 16+38+134. Rs. 20 (Students ed. Rs. 10).

Bhallaṭa, one of the writers of the Sanskrit *muktaka* poems of Kashmir, flourished in the period of the reign of the king Śaṅkaravarman (A.D. 883—902). He was thus a contemporary of Ānandavardhana (A D. 850—900), who has cited one of his verses in his *Dhvanyāloka*. *Bhallaṭaśataka*, a century of Bhallaṭa's *muktaka* stanzas, is known for its picquant *anyoktis* (stanzas which implicitly refer to the objects meant to be described through an explicit mention of other objects bearing a semblance thereto), which sarcastically deride the unworthy people of the high families of the contemporary society through the medium both of animate and inanimate objects of life. Bhallaṭa, in fact, sets the tradition of such *anyokti* poems which gained popularity in the later period in Kashmir and also in other parts of the country.

Bhallaṭaśataka was first published in the *Kāvyamālā* series and was included in its fourth volume brought out by the Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay, in 1899. There is no reference, in this edition, to the manuscript on which it was based. The present edition of the *Śataka* along with a Sanskrit commentary by Maheśvara, a South Indian scholar of 17th century A.D., has been prepared on the basis of four manuscripts belonging respectively to (1) Hoshiarpur (preserved in the Lal Chand collection of the Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit & Indological Studies) designated as *ha* by the editors, (2) Madras (preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, under No. D 12109, with its copy available in the Kashmir section of the Jammu University library under accession No. 159718, 2153/B/77), designated as *ma-l*, (3) Malabar (preserved in the form of Sanskrit commentary only in the above mentioned library of Madras, originally copied from the Ms. No. 2907, with its copy available in the Kashmir section of the Jammu University library under accession No. 159719, 2153/B/77), designated as *ma-2*, and (4) Adyar (preserved in Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, in Malayalam

script, under No. 40 C 8, catalogue 11, p. 8 B, available in Devanagari script in the Kashmir section of the Jammu University library under accession No. 159720, 2153/B/77) designated as *a*. The printed edition, mentioned above, has also been used in preparing the edition under review; it has been referred to as *ka*.

This edition, prepared by Prof. Dr. Ved Kumari Ghai and Dr. Ram Pratap of the Jammu University Department of Sanskrit, has the additional advantage of having Hindi and English translation of the *Śataka stanzas*. The translation is lucid and expressive, and makes the volume useful for the students and the scholars alike. Besides, the editors have prefixed to it a comprehensive introduction, both in Hindi and English, dealing with Kashmir's contribution to Sanskrit poetry, concept and definition of a *muktaka* stanza and its forms, Bhallata's life and his time, his satirical and penetrating observations on various aspects of human follies and sycophancy, and the tradition of *muktaka* poems in Kashmir. The learned introduction also gives a description of the manuscripts utilised in editing the work. The appendix at the end of the volume records some additional stanzas found in the different manuscripts, along with their commentary in Sanskrit in case of the stanzas found in the manuscript *ma*-2. The index at the end lists, in alphabetical order, the stanzas of the *Śataka*.

The world of Sanskrit scholarship is beholden to the editors, a couple dedicated to the cause of Sanskrit studies and research, for bringing out in print this work, which remained out of print for long, in a nicely edited form along with a medieval commentary on it. The volume has been neatly printed and elegantly gotup, and for this the Publishers also deserve our grateful thanks.

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KĀLIDĀSA-DARPAṆA by Dr. Shiv Prasad Bharadwaj. VVBIS & IS, Panjab University, Hoshiarpur, 1983. Pp. 20+532. Rs. 125.00.

Much has been said and written on Kālidāsa covering almost all aspects of his life and works, and yet there is a scope for writing on the great poet with reference to the still unresolved problems centring round his date, nativity and writings, with reference to the still undiscovered beauties of his art and style and also with reference to the still unearthed corners of the socio-cultural milieu reflected in his works. Any number of volumes on Kālidāsa, therefore, are as welcome today as these were, say, four or five decades ago, provided they add something new to our knowledge by way of giving a new interpretation of facts or succeed in feasting us by fresh drops of nectar of the great writer's poesy. If we apply this yardstick, many works that have recently appeared or are appearing today including books, dissertations attempted for Ph. D. and D. Litt. degrees, and papers and articles would fail to impress us as contributions to the Kālidāsa studies. The book under review is happily an exception to this sorry state of affairs. Coming from the pen of a scholar of the maturity of Dr. Bharadwaj who has earlier brought out a fine volume on the poet under the title *Kālidāsa-darśana* and has contributed a number of papers on different aspects of his life and works, the present work forms a good contribution to the critical literature on Kālidāsa. It makes a refreshing study, in twenty-one chapters, of the great poet with a comprehensive reference to his Vaidarbhī *rīti* as laid down in Vāmana's work (ch. *iii*), his suggested use of sentiments, emotions, ideas and figures of speech (*iv*), his delineation of the sentiment of pathos (*v*), his aesthetic consciousness and his concept of beauty (*vi*), his presentation of love, friendship and affection (*vii*), his use of symbols (*viii*), his descriptive art (*ix*), his employment of simile (for which his poetry is eminently noted)

(*x*), and other figures of speech (*xi*), felicity and perspicuity of his diction (*xii*), his treatment of nature (*xiii*), his insight into the human psyche (*xiv*), the inspiration and the impact he received from his predecessors and made on his successors (*xv-xvi*), his philosophy of life (*xvii*), his vast equipment in terms of pedantic learning, as reflected in his works (*xviii*), the socio-cultural life mirrored in them (*xix*), and un-Pāṇinian usages and other defects in his poetry (*xx*). The opening two chapters (*i-ii*) form an introduction to the study, and the last chapter (*xxi*) concludes it. The *appendix* registers the adages contained in the writings of the poet and the *index* lists the authors and works cited or referred to in the volume.

Repetitions in works of this nature and dimension are unavoidable, but in the present work these could at least be minimised with a bit more careful planning and presentation. Much of the matter contained in the first chapter could well have been dropped or adjusted in chapter *xi*. Likewise, chapter *ii* could well have been avoided in view of its matter re-appearing, in a more elaborate form, in chapters *xv-xvi*. Chapter *xii* should better have been merged *mutatis mutandis* into chapter *iii* and chapter *ix* into chapter *xiii*. On socio-cultural life reflected in Kālidāsa's works, Dr. Bhagawat Sharan Upadhyaya has given us a monumental work which unfortunately has not been referred to in the present volume in its relevant chapter (*xix*). Some of the observations made by Dr. Bharadwaj in his work may well be contested. His contention that the word *saṃskṛti* does not occur in Sanskrit literature (*cf.* p. 441) may be disputed in view of its occurrence noticed by MW in works of Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature. To see a hint, in Kālidāsa's references to some sectarian practices, at certain tenets or usages of the Rāmānuja sect (p. 360), which appeared on the scene of Indian religious thought much later than the great poet is simply untenable. Simi-

larly, to take the word *lokatantra* occurring in the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (act *v*) as meaning or even remotely suggesting democracy or anything near this concept (*cf.* p. 331) is open to serious objection. It would have been better if the author had appended to the volume a bibliography with full bibliographical details.

Notwithstanding the above observations, it must be said that the volume is replete with fresh material on the poet and commands a penetrating insight into his writings and his mind and art. The work forms a rich contribution to the studies in Kālidāsa in all major aspects of his life and works. The volume is neatly printed and elegantly got-up, for which the Institute which has published it under its Panjab University Indological Series as its 30th volume deserves our grateful thanks.

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BHĀRATĪYA NĀṬYA SAUNDARYA by Dr. Manohar Kale, Megh Prakashan, X-9/38, Brahm Puri, Delhi, 1982. Pp. 210. Rs. 50.00.

Poetry, as a form of belles-lettres, commands greater antiquity than drama in Sanskrit, but the same cannot be claimed with regard to the theory of poetry vis-a-vis that of drama. We know for certain that Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (c. first century B.C.) is much older than any of the works on poetics available or known through references so far. Bharata's work, in fact, influenced the early course of the theory on poetry represented by Daṇḍin (close of 7th century A.D.) and Bhāmaha (second quarter of 8th century A.D.). Some of the doctrines expounded in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,

evidently, in the context of dramatic art were adapted by the poeticians particularly of the *rasa* or the *rasa-dhvani* schools to suit the requirements of poetic art. The theory of *rasa,* for instance, which was formulated by Bharata with reference to the stage and the viewer, was given a new orientation by these poeticians so as to apply it exclusively to the arena of poetry. The later writers on dramatic art, many of whom knew very little about, or evinced scant consideration for, the stage and its requirements followed the new course laid down by the theorists of poetry. Many of these poeticians were deeply inspired by the philosophical thought-currents prevailing at the time, the most dominating amongst these being the Advaita theory of Śaṅkara (A.D. 788–820). The influence of the philosophical doctrines, in particular of the Advaita doctrine, thus travelled to the field of dramatic theory, and as a result Bharata's doctrines as enunciated in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* suffered distortions at the hands of the later writers, including these on dramaturgy, who interpreted and re-interpreted his dicta to suit the requirements of the philosophy-ridden science of poetry.

The work under review aims at identifying these distortions with a view to removing them and projecting the dramatic theories of Bharata in their re-oriented form. The author of this fine monograph, Dr. Manohar Kale of Delhi University, has already established himself as a mature scholar of Indian poetics through his brilliant studies in poetical theory. In his present monograph divided into fourteen chapters, he has studied in depth the theory of dramatic art in ancient India with a special reference to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra.* He has asserted in his work that *rasa* as conceived by Bharata formed an object of aesthetic pleasure (*āsvādya padārtha*) and that its realisation must be understood in the context of stage. Bharata, according to him, was able to give a most perfect technique and a definite scientific insight to the dramatic

art by dint of his objective approach to its aesthetic aspect (*cf.* p. 12). In order to understand and appreciate his contribution to the theory of dramatic art, it is imperative to clear it of the "extraneous tissues", so to say, that developed during the centuries which followed and shrouded its real form and distorted its original concept. Dr. Kale has done this with admirable success with a detailed reference to the different elements. such as *nāṭya-rasa, nāṭya-bhāva, sthāyi-bhāva, vibhāva, anubhāva, vyabhicāri-bhāva, sāttvika-bhāva, kāvya-lakṣaṇa, vṛtti* and *pravṛtti*, that constituted the dramatic art as enunciated in Bharata's work.

Dr. Kale deserves our heart-felt felicitations on his having successfully projected, in his brilliant and well documented study, Bharata's doctrines of dramatic art in their original form and perspective. What one misses in this otherwise fine study is an index which, if it had been suffixed thereto, would have greatly added to its value for reference and research. Again, the bibliography should have been a bit more comprehensive and should have covered the relevant works written in English also. These minor drawbacks, however, should not in any way detract the high merits of the book which definitely forms a significant contribution to the modern studies in dramatic art of ancient India.

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RESEARCH IN INDIAN LINGUISTICS by Dr. Baldevraj Gupta, Arcana Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983. Pp. 192. Rs. 90.00.

Linguistic research, both in India and abroad, has unrolled itself in recent years into a number of specialised branches, some of them bordering on distinctly separate disciplines of knowledge. The volume under review touches some of the new branches the linguistic research has sprouted forth, in particular, in India. Being a collection of research papers and articles written by Dr. Gupta during a long course of time, the present work forms a notable contribution to linguistic studies in India.

The opening chapter of the volume deals with the fundamentals of research methodology in linguistics with their application, as an illustration, in the linguistic survey of Pathankot and Jammu regions the author made a few years ago and in his analysis of *Mātā diān Bheṭān*. The second chapter makes a linguistic analysis of the poetry of Bābā Sheikh Farīd and Guru Nānak Dev with special reference to the phonetic and semantic aspects of their language. The third chapter discusses the impact of culture and religion on a language with a particular reference to Punjabi. The fourth chapter, forming in the main a summary of his Ph. D. thesis on "A Contrastive Phonology of Punjabi and Tamil", reveals linguistic structures of two Indian languages, i. e. Dogri-mixed Punjabi (the author's mother tongue) and Tamil, which register a well-defined contrast with each other. The last chapter discusses the phonology and morphology of Punjabi serving as a model for the researchers of the Jammu and Kashmir and other states with a general reference to a suitable approach for teaching Punjabi to non-native speakers, and an etymological study of some Punjabi words. Of the two appendices at the end, the first presents samples one each of an abstract and a review, and the second furnishes a recorded material from different regions of Jammu and Kashmir, namely, Jammu Tawi, Basoli, Samba. Kathua, Punchh, Akhnur and Udhampur on the basis of the author's linguistic survey of these regions. The work also contains a comprehensve classified bibliography and an index.

A special feature of the book consists in its bringing to the fore certain problematic issues which may be resolved by the linguisticians of tomorrow. Some of these issues relate to the status we may assign to Sanskrit in Indian languages ; the possibility of developing a common system of communication and a common script in a vast multi-lingual country like India ; rationalisation of the gender system in Hindi and other modern Indian languages ; and the importance of structural approach vis-a-vis the traditional method of grammar and diction in the study of language.

The book is informative and is useful for the students and scholars of linguistics of India in general and the area covering Punjabi with its northern dialect in particular. The book is neatly printed and nicely got-up, and for this the credit is duly shared by the Publishers also.

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ABHIDHĀVIMARŚAḤ (A Critique on the Denotative Power of the Word), by Dr. Yogeshwar Datt Sharma, Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi, 1980. Pp. 20+128. Rs. 40.00.

Indian grammarians, philosophers and poeticians have pondered deep over the problem of the power of word and have differed widely on tackling this issue. While some have maintained that word has threefold power, that is, denotative (*abhidhā*), indicative (*lakṣaṇā*) and suggestive (*vyañjanā*) and some have added another based on the speaker's intention (*tātparya*), to make it fourfold, others have asserted that there is only one power, the denotative one, which takes within its purview the other functions

of word and is thus capable of indicating and suggesting a further sense in certain circumstances.

The author of the book under review, Dr. Y. D. Sharma, has taken up this problematic issue for a critical analysis and examination and has put the weight of his arguments in favour of the view which accepts only the denotative or the expressive power of the word. Tracing the history of language and defining the relationship between word and sense in chapter I, the author delineates in chapter II, the nature of the denotative power of word with a special reference to the discussion on it in the philosophical systems of the Nyāya and the Mīmāmsā. In the next chapter, he defines the concept of *abhidhā* according to the grammarianas, Bhartṛhari and Nāgeśa, and establishes it, on their authority, as the supreme entity. In chapter IV, he defines the scope of *abhidhā* on the basis of the subtle analysis of the concept in different philosophical systems, and in the last chapter he presents a synoptic view of the discussion on this issue found in the works on poetics beginning with the *Agnipurāṇa* (precisely its portions dealing with poetical theories) which he chronologically places at the head of the works on literary theory in Sanskrit, down to the *Rasagaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha.

The book, originally a thesis approved by the University of Delhi for the degree of Ph. D., is written in Sanskrit in lucid diction, and contains a brief introduction to the subject in English besides the usual preface in Sanskrit. At the doorstep, it has Prof. Charudeva Shastri's foreword, written in chaste Sanskrit, which adds to the value and authenticity of the work. The study is a pioneering attempt to analysis critically the concept of *abhidhā* and to examine its claim as the sole power of word. The work is documented richly with relevant citations from various texts.

The work is a welcome addition to the literature on the study of the grammatico-philosophical aspect of the problem of word and its meaning in Sanskrit poetics. The author of this learned treatise deserves congratulations on his fine scholarly attempt.

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ARCHAIC WORDS IN PĀṆINI'S AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ, by Dr. Avanindra Kumar, Parimal Publications, Delhi, 1981. Pp. 18+168. Rs. 65.00.

The book under review critically examines about eighty "archaic" words occurring in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. A good number of words current in Pāṇini's time became almost obsolete in the classical Sanskrit literature of the post-Vālmīki period. Pāṇini in his work explained the formation of some such words and also used a number of such words by way of explaining the formation or the usage of certain other vocables. Most of the words of the first category, e. g. *anugava, anupadīna, kāsū, kutū, parpa,* etc., appear to have been drawn by Pāṇini from the colloquial language, not used in literature in his own time. However, most of the words belonging to the second category, e. g. *aniravasita, vyāśraya, adhruva, atyākāra,* etc., may justly be said to have become archaic in course of time. Some words in Pāṇini denote geographical names prevalent in his time, which may or may not have found a place in literature of his own time or of the succeeding ages. Such words as also the colloquial words may not justifiably be termed as archaic. Besides, it may be difficult to declare categorically that a certain word is non-existent in classical Sanskrit literature

which is vast and has its numerous branches each commanding a rich crop of writings. What may well be claimed with reference to certain words is that their use is rather rare or they are rarely found used in later literature, as Dr. Satyavrat Shastri has aptly observed in his scholarly foreword to the book.

It would have been better if the learned author of this work had been more cautious in discussing certain words as archaic and had dealt with only those vocable (e. g. *aniravasita, vyāśraya* etc.) which were in use in literature in Pāṇini's time and in course of time became almost obsolete, i. e., were found rarely used in language or underwent a total semantic change (e. g. the words like *upadhi, goghna, haraṇa,* etc.), warranting their acceptance as archaic words. However, it must be observed that the examination of some of the words taken up in this study is deep and penetrating. The author has brought to bear on it his profound knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and his critical insight.

The work contains a learned introduction, tracing the origin of Sanskrit grammar, its form and the scope it commanded in Pāṇini's work, and a brief conclusion detailing the main findings of the study. What one misses in it is bibliography and a list of abbreviations used in the work. Another drawback of the book relates to the literary presentation of its subject-matter, which leaves much to be desired from the point of view, in particular, of language and expression. A large number of misprints have also their own share to add to the confusion. This observation, however, should not be taken to mean a detraction of the great importance of the work as a notable contribution to the modern studies in Sanskrit vocables of the period of transition from the Vedic literature to the classical one from the grammatico-linguistic point of view.

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AESTHETICS AND SANSKRIT LITERATURE (SANSKRIT SĀHITYA AUR SAUNDARYACETANĀ). Edited by Dr. Pushpendra Kumar. Nag Publishers, Delhi; 1980. Pp. xxxii+56+62 +108+132. Rs. 100.00.

An indiscriminate use of the term *aesthetics* in modern writing has made it quite vague, and perhaps the best illustration of the vagueness of the term is the book under review, which is a collection of papers read at a seminar on aesthetics and Sanskrit literature, held in February, 1980, under the auspices of the Sanskrit Parishad of the South Delhi Campus of the University of Delhi.

The subject of these papers ranges from philosophy of beauty, aesthetical thinking and aesthetic experience with reference to art and poetry to the concept and treatment of beauty in Vedic and Classical Sanskrit literature and in Sanskrit poetics. The contributors to this wide range of subjects include teachers and scholars of Sanskrit, Hindi and philosophy mostly of Delhi University and its constituent colleges.

Some of the contributors appear to take aesthetics to be the science of beauty, conceiving beauty as the quality that gives pleasure to the sight. They have, in their papers, discussed this concept of beauty with copious illustrations from Sanskrit texts describing human and natural forms of beauty. Some of the scholars have, it appears, taken aesthetics as synonymous with poetics without caring to define and demarcate their respective scope and to observe it in their treatment of aesthetic elements in various forms of Sanskrit literature. Aesthetics, as observed by Dr. S.K. Saxena (I, p. 22) is the philosophy of art and beauty; it is on one hand a study of aesthetic discourse and on the other hand a close, yet unobtrusive, study of the facts of art contemplation, a vital pheno-menological truth of which is pro-

vided by the *rasa* theory of Sanskrit poetics—a poetical theory that may be said to be applicable to the experience of every art (cf. *ibid.,* p. 25). This theory of *rasa* may thus be regarded as the meeting point of the concept of poetics in Sanskrit and of the Western aesthetics which has a scope wider than the former inasmuch as its jurisdiction extends to all works of art. In fact, the prime concern of the aesthetics in the West is an art object, and it is only in its extended sense that poetry and drama are also included within its purview, since aesthetic experience and aesthetic pleasure are common to both these forms of expression of human emotions, *viz.,* the arts or fine arts and literature including poetry and drama.

Some of the papers which have touched upon this and other allied issues are those by Dr. S. K. Saxena, Dr. T.R. Sharma and Dr. Indranath Choudhury. Some other brilliant papers, irrespective of the fact whether or not they fit in well in the framework of the volume, are those written by Dr. S. D. Chowdhury, Dr. R.S. Nagar, Dr. R.C. Dwivedi, Dr R. G. Mishra, Dr. (Mrs.) Dipti Tripathi, Dr. B. M. Chaturvedi, Dr. S. D. Avatare and Dr. Nityanand Sharma. The opening paper by Prof. Dr. D. N. Sharma is in fact his inaugural speech delivered at the seminar. Though disfigured, at times beyond recognition, with careless recording and frequent misprints, the speech bears the stamp of the profound learning and mature scholarship of the distinguished speaker who must have felt pained to read his speech in print in such a corrupted form. The introduction to the volume by Dr. Pushpendra Kumar, the organiser of the seminar, is comprehensive. It should have however, been more definitive and precise so as to provide a better perspective to the subject dealt with in a variety of ways by scholars of different disciplines and of widely differing equipment.

Agreeing, of course, with the editor and Mrs. Kapila Vatsyayan, who has contributed foreword to the volume, that this book would no doubt stimulate further work and would arouse further research interest in the field with special reference to Sanskrit literature, the present reviewer is sad to observe that the book, without first having been carefully edited, has been rushed through the press in hot haste.

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BHAVABHŪTI–VYAKTITVA AURA UNAKE PĀTRA, Anjali Rojha, Delhi : Rajpal and sons, 1984. Pp. 186. Price : Rs. 50.00.

While creating a piece of art, the artist identifies himself with the object to be created and projects his own personality into it. It is true of literary art, too. The writer identifies himself with the characters of his work and infuses life into them by projecting his own personality. Thus literary works represent an expression of the personality of their authors. We may, therefore, study various traits of their personality through their works.

The book under review presents, for the first time, a psychological analysis of the characters delineated by the illustrious Sanskrit playwright Bhavabhūti in his three renowned dramas, the *Mahāvīracarita*, the *Mālatīmādhava* and the *Uttararāmacarita*, on the basis of the Thematic Appreciation Test (T.A.T.) method, invented by Murray and Ballack in 1935 A.D., and tries to portray the author's personality in the light of ego projection in his plays. The edifice of the book has been raised on 14 chapters. In Chapter 1, after giving a biographical account of Bhavabhūti,

Dr. Rojha hints at the importance of, and the methodology followed in her study. Chapters 2-11 offer a study into the ego projection and the projection of thoughts and instinctual impulses struggling within Bhavabhūti on the basis of a psychological analysis of his characters. Chapter 12 studies Bhavabhūti's personal life and personality in the light of the above analysis. In Chapter 13, Dr. Rojha has made a laudable attempt to settle the chronological order in the composition of the three plays of Bhavabhūti on the basis of her study of his personality, and this, according to her, should run as: the *Mahāvīracarita*, the *Mālatīmādhava*, and the *Uttararāmacarita*. Chapter 14 discovers various elements of modern psychology in his plays. A select bibliography figures at the end of the book.

The book contains many printing errors, which could be avoided by a careful proof—reading : विद्वान् (विद्वान, p. 9), भगवान् (भगवान, p. 11), विचार-विमर्श (विचारविमर्श, p. 18), वसिष्ठ (वशिष्ठ, p. 19), भवेत् (भवेत, p. 19), की (कि, p. 37), Passivity (Possivity, p. 73), रतिमान् (रतिमान, p. 73), दुष्कामना (दुश्कामना, p. 86), सात्त्विक (सात्विक pp. 102, 140, 143, 144, 152, 153), Guidance (Guidence, p. 87), नर्म-सचिव (नर्भसचिव, p. 101), सतत (सतत्, p. 118), मालतीमाधवम् (मालती माधवम्, p. 135), सम्भोग (सम्भहै, p. 142), स्त्री (स्त्रि, p. 144), उत्तरे रामचरिते (उत्तरेराम चरिते, p. 147); के (क, p. 150), आयुर्वृद्ध (आयुवृद्ध, p. 151), तत्त्व (तत्व, p. 152), महान् (महान, pp. 154, 155), निष्ठावान् (निष्ठावान, p. 158), दलति (दलित, p. 161), बेल्वेलकर (बेलवरकर, p. 169), कर्मरकर (कररकर, p. 169), मिश्र (मिश्रा, p. 183), पातालखण्ड (पातालकाण्ड, p. 184). The word है is missing in the second paragraph on p. 8. The word मन:शक्ति has wrongly been spelt as मनोशक्ति (p. 135), याकोबी as जैकोबी (p. 15) and भाण्डारकर as भण्डारकर (pp. 15, 17, 182), डॉ० बलदेव उपाध्याय (p. 13) ought

to have been पं० बलदेव उपाध्याय, The name of Pt. Baladeva Upadhyaya's book संस्कृत सुकवि समीक्षा has wrongly been given as संस्कृत कवि चर्चा (pp 11, 183) and that of Mm. P. V. Kane's *History of Sanskrit Poetics* as *History of Sanskrit Dramas* (p. 183). An errata should have been given at the end. The reader would also feel paucity of Sanskrit quotations in the book.

The book, however, sets a model for study into the personality of an author through application of the Thematic Appreciation Test (T.A.T.) method. Similar studies should be made on other Sanskrit writers, too. The printing and the get up of the book are also good. Dr. Rojha deserves our congratulations for such a nice publication.

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कल्पसूत्र—श्री कुन्दनलाल शर्मा, विश्वेश्वरानन्द वैदिक शोध संस्थान, होश्यारपुर (पंजाब), १९८१, २६+६७०, ६० रु० ।

वैदिक साहित्य के इतिहास से सम्बद्ध अनेक ग्रन्थ प्राप्य हैं; किन्तु उनमें मूल ग्रन्थों के सम्यक् आलोड़न से उपलभ्य प्रामाणिक तथ्यों, विविध प्रकाशित समीक्षात्मक पुस्तकों तथा विभिन्न शोध-पत्रिकाओं में प्रकाशित लेखों में प्राप्य सामग्री का समाकलन नहीं किया गया है, जिससे वे न तो प्रामाणिक ही हैं और न पूर्ण ही। इस अभाव की पूर्ति की दृष्टि से स्वर्गीय कुन्दनलाल शर्मा जी (भूतपूर्व रीडर एवम् अध्यक्ष, संस्कृत-विभाग, सनातन धर्म महाविद्यालय, मुजफ़्फ़रनगर, उत्तर प्रदेश) ने सात खण्डों में समग्र वैदिक वाङ्मय का विवेचनात्मक इतिहास प्रस्तुत करने की बृहती योजना बनाई। इनमें विश्वेश्वरानन्द वैदिक शोध संस्थान, होश्यारपुर (पंजाब) से १९८१ ई० में सप्तम खण्ड (कल्पसूत्र) तथा १९८३ ई० में षष्ठ खण्ड (वेदाङ्ग)

प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। दुर्भाग्यवश दुर्दैव के क्रूर हाथों ने श्री शर्मा जी को हमसे छीन लिया है। अवशिष्ट खण्डों के प्रकाशन की व्यवस्था उनकी धर्मपत्नी श्रीमती पुष्पा शर्मा जी कर रही हैं। सम्पूर्ण खण्डों के प्रकाश में आ जाने पर निश्चय ही यह वैदिक वाङ्मय का अनुपम तथा सर्वाङ्गपूर्ण इतिहास-ग्रन्थ होगा।

श्री शर्मा जी ने अपनी योजना के सप्तम खण्ड रूप 'कल्पसूत्र' नामक ग्रन्थ में श्रौतसूत्र, शुल्बसूत्र, गृह्यसूत्र तथा धर्मसूत्र इन चार वर्गों में विभक्त 'कल्पसूत्र' नामक साहित्य का विवेचनात्मक तथा समालोचनात्मक विवरण प्रस्तुत किया है; उन्होंने इनके साथ ही पितृमेधसूत्रों तथा प्रवरसूत्रों का भी विवेचन किया है। भूमिकात्मक प्रथम अध्याय में विषय-प्रवेश तथा श्रौतसूत्रों के विकास का संकेत किया गया है; द्वितीय अध्याय में ऋग्वेदीय आश्वलायन तथा शाङ्खायन श्रौतसूत्रों; तृतीय तथा चतुर्थ अध्यायों में कृष्णयजुर्वेदीय बौधायन, वाधूल, मानव, भारद्वाज, आपस्तम्ब, काठक, सत्याषाढ, वाराह तथा वैखानस श्रौतसूत्रों; पञ्चम अध्याय में शुक्ल यजुर्वेदीय कात्यायन-श्रौतसूत्र; षष्ठ तथा सप्तम अध्यायों में सामवेदीय आर्षेयकल्प (अथवा मशक कल्पसूत्र), क्षुद्रकल्पसूत्र, जैमिनीय, लाट्यायन, द्राह्यायण तथा निदानसूत्र श्रौतसूत्रों; और अष्टम अध्याय में अथर्ववेदीय वैतान-श्रौतसूत्र के प्रतिपाद्य विषयों, भाषा-शैली, रचना-काल, प्रणेता, विविध भाष्यों तथा प्रकाशित संस्करणों का सम्यक् वर्णन है। नवम तथा दशम अध्यायों का विवेच्य विषय शुल्वसूत्र हैं। नवम अध्याय में शुल्वसूत्रों के स्वरूप एवं प्रयोजन आदि के निर्देश के पश्चात् दशम अध्याय में विद्वान् लेखक ने बौधायन, मानव, आपस्तम्ब, हिरण्यकेशीय (अथवा सत्याषाढ), कात्यायन, मैत्रायणीय तथा वाराह शुल्बसूत्रों का विस्तरेण विवेचन किया है। एकादश अध्याय में पितृमेधसूत्रों के स्वरूप एवं प्रयोजन के संकेत के पश्चात् बौधायन, भारद्वाज, आपस्तम्ब, मानव, आग्निवेश्य, कात्यायन, कौशिक, सत्याषाढ-हिरण्यकेशीय, गौतम, कौषीतक, शाङ्खायन, आश्वलायन, काठक, वैखानस तथा तैत्तिरीय पितृमेधसूत्रों का विशद विवेचन किया गया है। द्वादश अध्याय का विषय प्रवरसूत्र हैं जिसमें प्रवरसूत्रों के स्वरूप एवं प्रयोजन के उल्लेख के बाद बौधायन, आपस्तम्ब, आश्वलायन, कात्यायन, सत्याषाढ, मानव तथा वाराह प्रवरसूत्रों का विशद वर्णन है। त्रयोदश से अष्टादश अध्यायों में गृह्यसूत्रों का विवरण है। त्रयोदश अध्याय में गृह्यसूत्रों के विषय एवं प्रयोजन के वर्णन के उपरान्त चतुर्दश अध्याय में आश्वलायन, शाङ्खायन, शाम्बव्य (कौषीतकि) तथा अमुद्रित ऋग्वेदीय गृह्यसूत्रों; पञ्चदश तथा षोडश अध्यायों में बौधायन, मानव, भारद्वाज, आपस्तम्ब, आपस्तम्ब-यज्ञपरिभाषासूत्र, आपस्तम्बीय एकाग्निकाण्ड, काठक, लौगाक्षि, आग्निवेश्य, हिरण्यकेशीय, वाराह, वैखानस, नारायणीय मन्त्रार्षाध्याय, पारस्कर तथा बैजवाप इन यजुर्वेदीय गृह्यसूत्रों;

सप्तदश अध्याय में गोभिल, कौथुम, खादिर, द्राह्यायण, जैमिनीय तथा अप्रकाशित (गौतम-गृह्यसूत्र तथा छन्दोग-गृह्यसूत्र); सामवेदीय गृह्यसूत्रों और अष्टादश अध्याय में अथर्ववेदीय कौशिकसूत्र का विशद वर्णन है। सभी ग्रन्थों के वर्णन में यथासम्भव प्रतिपाद्य विषयों, भाषा-शैली, रचना-काल, प्रणेता, भाष्यों तथा प्रकाशित संस्करणों के विवरण दिए गए हैं। एकोनविंश अध्याय में गृह्यसूत्रों के आधार पर विवाह तथा उसके प्रकार; विंश अध्याय में विवाह-संस्कार; एकविंश अध्याय में शिशु-संस्कार (जातकर्म, नामकरण तथा उपनयन); द्वाविंश अध्याय में आह्निक कृत्य (होम, पञ्च-महायज्ञ, दर्शपूर्णमास, श्रवणा, आश्वयुजी कर्म, आग्रहायणीकर्म, कृषिकर्म तथा वृषोत्सर्ग); त्रयोविंश अध्याय में अन्त्येष्टिकर्म; चतुर्विंश अध्याय में श्राद्ध; पञ्चविंश अध्याय में श्राद्ध के विविध प्रकार (महापितृयज्ञ, पार्वणश्राद्ध, एकोद्दिष्ट, सपिण्डन, प्रतिसांवत्सरिक श्राद्ध, पिण्डान्वाहार्य, अष्टका श्राद्ध तथा अन्वष्टका) तथा ब्राह्मण-भोजन एवं श्राद्ध में प्रयोज्य पदार्थ वर्णित हैं। षड्विंश से अष्टाविंश अध्यायों में धर्मसूत्र-साहित्य का विवेचन किया गया है। षड्विंश अध्याय में धर्मसूत्रों के उद्भव और विकास, धर्मसूत्रों तथा गृह्यसूत्रों में सम्बन्ध, धर्मसूत्रों तथा धर्मशास्त्रों में सम्बन्ध, और मानव-धर्मसूत्र की समस्या पर विचार किया गया है। सप्तविंश अध्याय में गौतम, बौधायन तथा आपस्तम्ब इन प्राचीन धर्मसूत्रों; और अष्टाविंश अध्याय में वासिष्ठ, हारीत, हिरण्यकेशीय, शंख, वैखानस-धर्मप्रश्न तथा विष्णु इन अनतिप्राचीन धर्मसूत्रों के प्रतिपाद्य विषयों, भाषा-शैली, रचना-काल, प्रणेता, भाष्यों तथा प्रकाशित संस्करणों के विवेचन-वर्णन के बाद अन्य धर्मसूत्रकारों (अत्रि, उशना, कण्व, कश्यप, गार्ग्य, च्यवन, जातुकर्ण्य, देवल, पैठीनसि, बृहस्पति तथा भारद्वाज) का परिचय दिया गया है। धर्मसूत्रों का अवलम्बन करते हुए एकोनत्रिंश से चतुस्त्रिंश अध्यायों में क्रमशः वर्ण-व्यवस्था; आश्रम-व्यवस्था; गृहस्थाश्रम; वानप्रस्थाश्रम तथा संन्यासाश्रम; राज-धर्म; और शुद्धि (अथवा शौच), पाप तथा प्रायश्चित्त का विवेचन प्रस्तुत किया गया है। विद्वान् लेखक ने सभी विषयों का मूल ग्रन्थों तथा विविध भाषाओं में यत्र-तत्र प्रकाशित समालोचनात्मक ग्रन्थों एवं लेखों के आलोक में सर्वाङ्गीण प्रतिपादन किया है और स्थान-स्थान पर अपनी स्वच्छ, पक्षपातरहित एवम् अनतिवादी दृष्टि का परिचय देते हुए सन्तुलित निर्णय प्रस्तुत किया है।

ग्रन्थ के आरम्भ में प्राक्कथन के अतिरिक्त विषय-सूची तथा संक्षेप-सूची; और अन्त में अतीव उपयोगी उद्धरण-सूची, विशिष्ट-पद-सूची, पुस्तक-सूची तथा शुद्धि-पत्र हैं। प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ सभी दृष्टियों से अत्युत्तम है और लेखक के मनोयोगपूर्वक कठोर परिश्रम एवम् अध्यवसाय का परिचायक है।

मानसिंह
हिमाचल प्रदेश विश्वविद्यालय
शिमला—१७१००५

ऋग्वैदिक भूगोल—लेखक डॉ० कैलाशनाथ द्विवेदी, डी० लिट्० । प्रकाशक साहित्य निकेतन, शिवाला रोड, गिलिस बाजार, कानपुर २०८००१ । प्रकाशन समय—मार्च, १९८४, पृष्ठ संख्या ३६३ । मूल्य १२५.०० ।

ऋग्वेद समस्त मानव जाति का प्राचीनतम पवित्र तथा उत्कृष्ट ज्ञान है जो हमें वरदान एवं आशीर्वाद रूप में हमारे पूर्वज ऋषियों द्वारा प्राप्त हुआ है । इससे आर्यों के तत्कालीन धर्म, साहित्य, दर्शन, भाषा, राजनीति, भूगोल, इतिहास, समाज एवं संस्कृति से सम्बन्धित पक्षों पर प्रकाश पड़ता है । लेखक डॉ० कैलाशनाथ द्विवेदी ने ऋग्वेद के प्रमाणों के आधार पर आर्यों के मूल निवास स्थान सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश का वैज्ञानिक विधि से गवेषणापूर्ण भौगोलिक अध्ययन प्रस्तुत किया है ।

प्रथम अध्याय में सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश के स्वरूप एवं सीमा विचारक्रम में लेखक ने विभिन्न मतों की समीक्षा करते हुये सप्तनदियों में सिन्धु, विपाशा, शुतुद्रि, वितस्ता, असिक्नी, परुष्णा और सरस्वती को मान कर मैक्डॉनल और कीथ आदि के मत का अनुमोदन किया है और सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश को इन नदियों और उनकी सहायक नदियों के आस-पास का क्षेत्र माना है । बाद में आर्य लोग दूर-दूर तक फैल गये । सप्तसैन्धव के चारों ओर चार समुद्र थे । हिमालय और मूँजवत् उसकी उत्तरी सीमा थे । सप्तसैन्धव के पूर्वी किनारे से उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार, बंगाल, आसाम तक समुद्र फैला था । यह तथ्य ऋग्वेद ओर भूगर्भशास्त्रियों से भी पुष्ट होता है ।

द्वितीय अध्याय में सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश की जलवायु, ऋतुयें, प्राकृतिक वनस्पति, जीवजन्तु आदि पर प्रकाश डाला गया है । उस समय शीत का प्राधान्य था । वर्ष के लिये 'हिम' शब्द का व्यवहार इसको पुष्ट भी करता है । समुद्रों के विलीन हो जाने से जलवायु में अन्तर आ गया जिसका जीव जगत्, मनुष्य, वनस्पति आदि सभी पर प्रभाव पड़ा । सामान्यतया सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश की समशीतोष्ण जलवायु के कारण कृषि, पशुपालन, स्वास्थ्य आदि से कर्मण्यता और सम्पन्नता आई जिसने ऋग्वैदिक संस्कृति को जन्म दिया । जलवायु के प्रमुख कारक उनके उपास्य देव बन गये और धर्म, दर्शन, शिक्षा, ज्ञान-विज्ञान का विकास हुआ । इस अध्याय में तत्कालीन खदिर,

अश्वत्थ, विभीतक आदि प्राकृतिक वनस्पतियों और विभिन्न जीवजन्तुओं और अयस् हिरण्य, पीतल आदि खनिज धातुओं का भी वर्णन किया गया है।

तृतीय अध्याय में सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश की स्थलीय भौतिक संरचना पर विचार किया गया है। उस समय अधिकांश सीमान्त भूमि पर्वतीय थी जिसमें पश्चिम, पश्चिमोत्तर तथा उत्तर के हिमवन्त, मूजवान् आदि पर्वत थे। स्थल संरचना के संदर्भ में सप्तसैन्धव के मैदानी, कछारी भूभागों का भी वर्णन किया गया है। मैदानी भाग सिन्धु से लेकर सरस्वती के आगे यमुना नदी तक फैला था और अत्यन्त उपजाऊ था। सप्तसैन्धव की स्थलीय संरचना का अध्ययन वैदिक साहित्य में प्राप्त संदर्भों के आधार पर किया जाना चाहिये।

चौथे अध्याय में सप्तसैन्धव के नद-नदियों एवं निर्झरों का अध्ययन किया गया है। इन नदियों का महत्वपूर्ण योगदान यहाँ की संस्कृति के पल्लवन में रहा है। लेखक ने सिन्धु, तुष्टामा, अनिताभ, सुसर्तु, श्वेती, कुभा, आदि नदियों का प्रत्यभिज्ञानात्मक विवेचन किया है।

पाँचवे अध्याय "ऋग्वैदिक जलमंडलीय स्थिर रूप" में ऋग्वेद में उल्लिखित सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश के जल के विविध स्रोत रूपों यथा सरोवर, सागर, नदियों, झीलों आदि का वर्णन किया गया है। उस समय खनित्रिम और प्राकृतिक दोनों प्रकार के सरोवर थे। हिमालय पर्वत के आसपास के भू-भाग के आन्तरिक परिवर्तनों से सप्तसैन्धव का उत्तरी समुद्र भी कश्मीर के शर्मणावत् सरोवर के रूप में अवशिष्ट रह गया। सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश की जलवायु पर इन समुद्रों का प्रभाव विभिन्न प्राकृतिक रूपों (तापमान, वर्षा, जलवायु) के अतिरिक्त मानवीय जीवन की विविध प्रक्रियाओं पर दृष्टिगोचर होता है।

छठें अध्याय "ऋग्वैदिक आर्थिक भूगोल" में सप्तसैन्धव के निवासियों के खान-पान, वस्त्र, रहन-सहन, आजीविका पर प्रकाश डाला गया है। भोज्यान्नों में मुख्यतया यव था जो कि रोटी, चबेने, सत्तू और यवाशिरादि पेय रूपों में प्रयुक्त होता था। विशुद्ध और मिश्रित पेय पदार्थों के रूप में दुग्ध, दधि, मधु, सुरा, सोम, गवाशिर दध्याशिर, यवाशिर, त्र्याशिर आदि थे। पुरोडाश दूध में पका जौ का दलिया देवताओं को अर्पण किया जाने वाला प्रिय खाद्य पदार्थ था। कृषि, पशुपालन, आखेट, मत्स्योद्योग, चर्मोद्योग, वस्त्रोद्योग, आदि जीविका के प्रधान साधन थे। स्थलीय और जलीय दोनों मार्गों से व्यापार किया जाता था।

सातवें अध्याय "ऋग्वैदिक सांस्कृतिक भूगोल" में सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश के धर्म, दर्शन, ज्ञान-विज्ञान, काव्य, आमोद-प्रमोद पर प्रकाश डाला गया है। इसमें भौगोलिक वातावरण को प्रभावित करने वाली प्राकृतिक शक्तियों यथा सूर्य, इन्द्र, वरुण, अग्नि

आदि शक्तियों और उनकी उपासना पद्धति का विवेचन किया गया है। ज्ञान-विज्ञान के अन्तर्गत लोक-परलोक, ग्रह-नक्षत्र, संवत्सर, ऋतु, मास, दिन-रात, तौलमाप आदि एवं ललित कलाओं के अन्तर्गत मूर्ति, चित्रकला, संगीत, नृत्य, वाद्यों, काव्य, साहित्य, गणित, ज्योतिष, चिकित्सा, शल्य क्रिया; आमोद-प्रमोदों में सोमपान गोष्ठी, रथधावन प्रतियोगिता, द्यूत क्रीडा आदि का वर्णन किया गया है।

अष्टम अध्याय में "राजनैतिक भूगोल" के अन्तर्गत राज्य-व्यवस्था, आर्यों के प्रमुख जनपद, कबीलों, अनार्यों के राज्यक्षेत्रों, पारस्परिक राजनीतिक संघर्षों और उनको प्रभावित करने वाले भौगोलिक कारकों का विवेचन किया गया है। सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश में जन एवं सामन्तवादी राज्य-व्यवस्था प्रचलित थी जिसे कुलप, ग्रामणी, व्राजपति, विश्पति, राजा आदि नियमानुसार संचालित करते थे। जन एवं राज्यों की सम्पूर्ण व्यवस्था का उत्तरदायित्व राजा पर होता था। सप्तसैन्धव के अर्वावत् भाग के पुरु, यक्षु, अज, शिग्रु, शिम्यु आदि कबीलों का उल्लेख है। परावत भाग के अलिन, पक्थ, भलानस्, विषाणी आदि एवं अन्तर्वर्ती भाग के यदु, तुर्वश, द्रुह्यु, अनु आदि जनों का राज्य था। अनार्य आतियों में शक्तिशाली दास, एवं दस्यु थे जो अनेक उपजातियों के कबीलों में रह कर, सुदृढ़ पुर बना कर, आर्यों के विरुद्ध संघर्षरत रहते थे। पणि भी आर्यों के विरोधी सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश के पश्चिमी और पूर्वी सीमान्त भागों में रहने वाली आदिम जनजाति के लोग थे, जिनकी समुद्री व्यापार मुख्य जीविका थी। इनका प्रदेश पर पर्याप्त राजनैतिक एवं सांस्कृतिक प्रभाव था। प्रभुत्व स्थापित करने के लिये आर्य समुदाय का अनार्य कबीलों से प्रायः संघर्ष होता था। इन युद्धों पर विशिष्ट स्थलीय संरचनाओं यथा पर्वतीय गुहाओं का सुदृढ़ दुर्गों के रूप में तथा प्रचण्ड मेघ-वृष्टि, और राज्यों की सीमा-रेखा निधारित करने वाली विशाल नदियों और उनकी बाढ़ आदि का भी विशिष्ट प्रभाव होता था।

नवें अध्याय में कीकट, गुंगु, रुशम, यति, वेतसु, सारस्वत आदि क्षेत्रों एवं उद्व्रज आदि तीर्थस्थान, नैचाशाख, भजेरथ दशव्रज आदि स्थानों और भरद्वाज, वसिष्ठ, विश्वामित्र आदि ऋषियों के आश्रमों की विवेचना की गई है।

इस प्रकार विद्वान् लेखक ने ऋग्वेद में प्रतिविम्बित सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश की राजनैतिक, आर्थिक, भौगोलिक, ऐतिहासिक और सांस्कृतिक सामग्रियों पर जो प्रभूत प्रकाश डाला है वह अत्यन्त ज्ञानवर्धक है। परवर्ती संस्कृत-साहित्य में यह ज्ञान संस्कार रूप में घुला लक्षित होता है। आशा है, सप्तसैन्धव प्रदेश के उपर्युक्त विविध पक्षों के अनुसंधानात्मक अध्ययन के लिये जिज्ञासु विद्वानों को इस ग्रन्थ से नवीन दिशा एवं प्रेरणा मिलेगी। ग्रन्थ विषयवस्तु की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त उपादेय है। भाषा

सरल, प्रवाहमयी और प्रौढ़ है। मुद्रण, सज्जादि भी सुन्दर है। विद्वान लेखक की यह कृति हर दृष्टि से प्रशंसा के योग्य है।

भाया मालवीय

प्रवाचक
गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ
इलाहाबाद

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शान्त आरामः । **लेखकः**—शां० ग० मोघे महाराष्ट्रविश्वविद्यालये संस्कृत-विभागस्य प्राध्यापकः । **प्रकाशकः**—देववाणीमन्दिरम्, मुम्बई ४ । **प्रकाशनसमयः** १९८८ ई० । पृष्ठ संख्या ११४ । मूल्यम्—२० रूप्यकाणि ।

एकस्यैव लेखकस्य पञ्चचत्वारिंशन्निबन्धानां संग्रहात्मकोऽयं ग्रन्थः किमपि विलक्षणं वैशिष्ट्यं बिभर्ति । अत्र कासाञ्चन वैदुष्यस्य क्षेत्रे लब्धप्रतिष्ठानां व्यक्तीनां केषाञ्चन मनोहारिणां ग्रन्थानां च स्वकीयया दृष्ट्या परिचयं प्रस्तुवता लेखकेन मीमांसाधर्मशास्त्रनाट्यशास्त्रकोषपुराणोपनिषत्काव्यालङ्कारशास्त्राण्यधिकृत्य यथा-वसरमभिव्यक्ताः स्वकीया अभिप्राया बाहुल्येन संसूचनात्मका अल्पशश्च वैचारिकाः यथायथं निबद्धाः । गीर्वाणसुधापत्रिकाया अङ्केषु प्राक् क्रमशः प्रकाशितानामप्येषां लेखानां पी० वी० काणेस्मारकनिधेः मुम्बईस्थिताद् द्रविणसाहाय्यमासाद्यैकत्र ग्रन्थरूपेण तेषां सङ्कलनं विधाय प्रकाशनं विहितं विदुषा लेखकेन पाठकानामुपकाराय संस्कृतभाषायाः सेवायै चेति प्रमोदस्थानम् ।

देववाण्यां निहितानां भावानामभिप्रायाणां विषयाणां वा प्रकाशनं प्रसिद्ध-पाण्डित्यैः स्वकीयासु भाषास्वथ चाङ्ग्लभाषायां साधारणतो विधीयत इति दृष्टम् । देववाण्याः समुपासकस्तु लेखकोऽयं संस्कृतस्य विषयानधिकृत्य संस्कृतभाषायामेव प्रतिभाव्युत्पत्तिप्रसूतमभिप्रायं स्वकीयं निबध्नाति, विदुषां समक्षं तथैव प्रस्तौति चेति न केवलं संस्कृतविद्यां प्रत्यपि तु संस्कृतभाषां प्रत्यपि निष्ठाधिक्यं तदीयप्रचार-प्रसारकामना च लेखकस्यास्य व्यज्यते । तस्मादस्य ग्रन्थस्य लेखकः प्रकाशिका च संस्थैवंविधस्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशनाय तत्परोभयथा श्लाघनीयतां यातः । संस्कृतस्य दुरवस्थाकालेऽपीदानीं तदीयोज्जीवनाय यतेते अथ चैतादृशो लेखको लभ्यते यमियं प्रोत्साहयतीति ।

अत्र मोघे महाशयस्य भाषा प्राञ्जला सरला सुबोधा प्रवाहमयी च विद्यते प्रस्तुतिश्चापि प्रसन्ना क्रमयुता दृश्यते । विषयाणां वैविध्यमिति नारुचिमुत्पादयति पाठकानाम् । मुद्रणं सज्जादिकं च साधु वर्तते ।

किशोरनाथ झा

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इलाहाबाद

इरा । **लेखकः**—प्रा० देवदत्तभट्टिः, संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षः राजकीय महाविद्यालयस्य मालेर कोटलास्थितस्य । **प्रकाशकः**—जयश्री प्रकाशनम् ४/११५ विश्वासनगरम् शाहदरा, दिल्ली । **प्रकाशनसमयः**—१९८४ ई० । पृष्ठसंख्या ८३ । मूल्यम्—५० रु० ।

पद्यकाव्यस्य क्षेत्रे सर्वथा नवीनोऽयं प्रयोगोऽत्र कविना भट्टि महोदयेन विहितः । अत एव पुरातनाः भावाः प्रसिद्धानि छन्दांसि प्रचलिता रीतिश्चानेन परित्यक्ताः । अधुनिके वातावरणे भारतीयभाषासु लिखितानां काव्यानां प्रभावः कविवरेऽस्मिन् समधिकं परिलक्ष्यते । अत एव संस्कृतभाषां स्वीकृत्य स्वकायमभिप्रायं प्रकाशयति कविः काव्यस्य माध्यमेन । परिवर्तनमस्मिन्नपि क्षेत्रे चिकीर्षता कविना प्रस्तुतौ भावे भाषायां च सर्वथा नवीनमात्मप्रसूतं शिल्पं व्यवहरन्नात्मतुष्टिमनुभवति । भाषासु व्यवहृतानामथ च प्रसिद्धानां पदानामण्डाआलूप्रभृतीनां प्रयोगोऽत्र दृश्यते । रसस्यालङ्कारस्य रीतेर्ध्वनेर्वालङ्कारशास्त्रीयविषयाणां समावेशं नेच्छति कविस्तथापि वक्रोक्तितो नैव मुक्तिमलभत । सहृदयानां हृदयान्यावर्जयतीयमिरेति विद्वद्वरेण्यानां प्रशस्तिभिरिह प्रकाशिताभिः कोऽप्यवगन्तुं प्रभवेत् । काव्यं हृद्यं यद्यपि वर्तते तथापि प्रायेणात्राभिव्यक्तोऽभिप्रायः परस्परं विरोधितां भजते । तथा हि कविरत्र कथयति 'अकवितायामकविः संस्कारकरो भवति अस्पृश्यान् अपाङ्क्तेयान् विषयान् संस्कृत्य स सहृदयसामाजिकसंवेद्यान् करोति तान् परिष्कृत्य च साहित्यिकान् निर्माति' इति । किमयं संस्कारः परिष्कारः प्राचीनैर्दर्शितमार्गेण नैव भवितुमर्हति अपाणिनीयप्रयोगव्यवहारेण देशजपदसमावेशेनैव भवितुमर्हतीत्येवंविधाः बहवो वक्तव्यांशाः विचारणीयतां यान्ति । कश्मीरभवेन दार्शनिकमूर्धन्येन न्यायमञ्जरीकृता जयन्तभट्टेनोक्तम्—

कुतो वा नूतनं वस्तु वयमुत्प्रेक्षितुं क्षमाः ।
वचोविन्यासवैचित्र्यमात्रमत्र विचार्यताम् ॥
तैरेव कुसुमैः पूर्वमसकृत्कृतशेखराः ।
अपूर्वरचने दाम्नि वधत्येव कुतूहलम् ॥

अत एव वचनभङ्गीमात्रं नूतनतां भजते सा खलु अलङ्कारशास्त्रीयमर्यादापालनेनापि पाणिनीयानुशासनस्वीकारेणापि परिनिष्ठितपदप्रयोगेणापि भवितुमर्हति भवति च बहूनामद्यतनप्रसिद्धकवीनां कृतिषु च सन्दृश्यन्त अपि एते सर्वे।

वर्षाकालानन्तरं शरदृतुरायाति तदा पङ्किलं जलं नैर्मल्यं भजत एवं इरारचनाकारस्यापरा कृतिरितोप्यधिकां प्रौढिं भजिष्यत इति मन्ये।

किशोरनाथ झा

प्रवाचक :
गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संकृत विद्यापीठम्
इलाहाबाद

अविनाशि। लेखकः—डा० विश्वनारायणशास्त्री एम० ए० डी० लिट्० साहित्यव्याकरणमीमांसाशास्त्री काव्यतीर्थः। भारतशासनस्य शिक्षाविभागीयसाहाय्येन प्रकाशितम्। **प्राप्तिस्थानम्**—सार्वभौमसंस्कृतप्रचारसंस्थानम्, डी० ३८/११० हौज कटोरा, वाराणसी। पृष्ठसंख्या १७ + १४८। **मूल्यम्**—पञ्चदशरूप्यकाणि।

संस्कृतसाहित्ये यथा पद्यानां प्राचुर्यं तथैव गद्यानां वैरल्यमल्पत्वं वा विदितमेव मतिमत्सु। पद्यानां निर्माणे यथा पाटवमुपलभ्यते कवीनां तथैव गद्यानां निर्माणं तेषां कृते प्रयत्नाधिकसाध्यं भवति। गद्यं हि कवीनां निकषमिति धीधनानां धारणा वस्तुतः यथार्थतामनुगच्छति। अत एव संस्कृतस्य गद्यकाव्यं परिमितमेवोपलभ्यते। दण्डिसुबन्धुबाणानां कृतिभिः दशकुमारचरितवासवदत्त-हर्षचरित-कादम्बरीभिः साकं मन्दारमञ्जरीशिवराजविजयादिकं गद्यकाव्यमङ्गुल्या निर्देष्टुं शक्यमेव विद्यते। परमिह गद्यकाव्यस्य निर्मितौ सफलः कविः नूनं श्लाघनीयतां याति।

उपन्यासस्तु गद्यकाव्यस्याद्यतनः प्रभेदो विद्यते। अत एव प्रतिपदोक्तमस्य लक्षणमलङ्कारशास्त्रेषु नैव दृश्यते। किन्तु रुचिकरोऽयं काव्यप्रभेदः सामाजिकानामित्यत्र नास्ति कस्यापि मतिमतो विवेचकस्य सहृदयस्य पाठकस्य वा वैमत्यम्।

प्रस्तुतस्योपन्यासस्य लेखकः प्रसिद्धपाण्डित्यः दर्शनस्य साहित्यस्य च नितरामभिज्ञः मातृभूमिप्रेम्णा प्रेरितः सन् विलक्षणामनितरसाधारणां सामग्रीं प्रस्तौति सामाजिकान् प्रतीत्यत्र नास्ति संशीतिलेशोऽपि। विनश्वरेऽप्यस्मिन् जगत्यविनाशि-

प्रेम स्थातुं प्रभवतीति प्रतिपाद्यं कविवर्येणैतिहासिकं विषयमासाद्य तमलङ्कृत्य स्वकीयाभिः कोमलकल्पनाभिः प्रदर्शितं प्रतिपदं मणिकाञ्चनयोगं विदधतेति पाठं पाठं ग्रन्थमेतमनुभूयते। अत एव कृतिरियं साहित्यअकादमीपुरस्कारेणापि तज्ज्ञैः सभाजिता।

यथैव शब्दानां चयनं तथैव प्रस्तुतिः रुचिकरा मधुरा च। भाषायां विद्यते प्रवाहः सरलता सुबोधता च। अभिव्यक्तिर्वैदुष्यपूर्णा या खलु विविधशास्त्राणामनुशीलन-परिपाकं लेखकस्य यथास्थानं व्यञ्जयति। देशभक्तिः कवेरतः स्वजन्मभूमेरेव विवरणं प्रत्तं तस्या एव गौरवगाथा च गीता। दुःखान्तोऽयमुपन्यासः भारतीयालङ्कारशास्त्रीय-रीतिप्रतिकूलमात्ररतापि कविना नवीना दिक् प्रदर्शिता स्वकीया प्रगतिशीलता चाभिव्यञ्जिता।

नृपतिः भास्करवर्मदेवोऽत्र नायकः असमप्रान्तीयः अथ च साधारणकुलोद्भवा माधवी नायिका सांसारिकीं बहुविधां विडम्बनां सहमाना सुखशानयै संघर्षरतैवाजीवनं समतिष्ठत। बाल्ये मातृपितृभ्यां विहीना जाता पश्चात् पितृव्येन वणिक्हस्ते विक्रीता सहोदराद् वियुक्ता च सौभाग्येन महाकालमन्दिराध्यक्षस्योपकण्ठमासाद्य देवदासिषु श्रेष्ठतां गता विविधानि शास्त्राणि समधिगतवती परं तारुण्यमासाद्य पुरुषं कामयमाना नद्या धारेव दैवयोगात् भास्करवर्मदेवस्य प्रियतमाभवत्। अत्रापि विविधविधां दैवीं यातनां सहमाना पश्चात् असहिष्णुतां भजमानया सपत्न्या कापालिकहस्ते पातिता। ततः समुद्धृतापि प्रियतमवियोगमसहमाना तदीयान्तिमसंस्कारावसरे वह्नौ तत्रैवात्मानं निक्षिप्तवतीति जीवनमेव कष्टमयम्। तस्मान्नश्वरेऽप्यस्मिन् संसारे लौकिक्याः सुखशान्ते रनुधावनं निष्फलमिति शिक्षापि लभ्यते अविनाशि च प्रेम इति तु दृश्यत एव, तस्मादन्वर्थकत्वं काव्यस्यास्य विभावनीयम्। एतादृश्या प्रौढकृत्या वस्तुतः संस्कृत-काव्यस्य समृद्धिर्जायत इति कविः प्रशंसाभाजनम् प्रकाशनाय कृतसाहाय्यं भारत-शासनमपि धन्यवादपात्रमिति शम्।

किशोरनाथ झा

प्रवाचकः
गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठम्
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गैर्वाणीगौरवग्रन्थमाला

गीर्वाणवाणीगौरवभूतप्रत्ननूतनलघुग्रन्थानां सङ्कलनम्

गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठशोधपत्रिकायाः
परिशिष्टम्

जगन्नाथप्रणीतम्

गोवर्द्धनकाव्यम्

(संपादकः जगन्नाथपाठकः)

शिवदत्तशर्मचतुर्वेदिप्रणीतम्

शोधशोभाशतकम्

हीरालालपाण्डेयविरचितम्

युतकयाचनम्

॥ श्रीः ॥

अप्रकाशितचरम्

श्रीगोवर्धनकाव्यम्

कविवरश्रीजगन्नाथविरचितम्

सम्पादकः

डॉ० जगन्नाथपाठकः

जम्मूस्थश्रीरणवीरकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठीय-
प्राचार्यः

गंगानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठम्, प्रयागः

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सम्पादकीयम्

जगन्नाथनिर्मितस्य गोवर्धनकाव्यस्य सम्पूर्णपाण्डुलिपिरस्माभिः श्रीमतो डॉ० मुरलीधरपाण्डेयस्य (सम्प्रति, जम्मूस्थश्रीरणवीरकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठ-प्राचार्यस्य) माध्यमेन, उत्तरप्रदेशमण्डलान्तर्गतमीरजापुरीयखटखरियाग्रामवास्तव्यस्य स्व० पं० प्रेमनाथत्रिपाठिमहाशयस्य गृहात् उपलब्धा। एकविंशतिपत्रमयीयं नागरी-लिपिबद्धा। अस्यां प्रतिपृष्ठमष्टौ पङ्क्तयः, प्रतिपङ्क्ति च ३२,३३,३५ प्रायाण्यक्षराणि सन्ति।

अस्यैव काव्यस्य खण्डिताऽन्या चैका पाण्डुलिपिः प्रयागस्थहिन्दीसाहित्यसम्मे-लनस्य संग्रहालये प्राप्ता (संस्कृत कैट० ३१२४।१६१०)। इयं द्वादशपत्रमात्रा, नागरी-लिपिमयी च। आरम्भस्य समाप्तेश्च पत्राणि न सन्ति।

पूर्वां पाण्डुलिपिमाश्रित्य प्रस्तुते संस्करणे मयाऽन्यपाण्डुलिप्यनुसारं कतिपये पाठभेदाः संशोधनानि च प्रस्तुतानि।

प्रस्तुतस्य काव्यस्य कर्ता जगन्नाथः क इति चेदभिधीयते—अस्य काव्यस्य पाण्डुलिपिद्वयस्य पुष्पिकासु प्राय एवमुपलभ्यते—

इति श्रीगोवर्धने महाकाव्ये शुभाङ्के श्रीमद्गुरुधरणीधरचरणाब्जभ्रमरश्रीजगन्नाथ-कविकृते···· ··· इत्यादि। कोऽसौ धरणीधर इति जिज्ञासायां प्रमाणद्वयमुपस्थाप्यते।
१. त्रिवेणिकायाः कोविदानन्दस्य च कर्ता श्रीमानाशाधरभट्टः स्वनिर्मितायां कुवलया-नन्दस्य टीकायामलङ्कारदीपिकायां पद्यमिदं लिखति—

शिवयोस्तनयं नत्वा गुरुञ्च धरणीधरम्।
आशाधरेण कविना रामजीभट्टसूनुना॥

२. त्रिविक्रमविरचितस्य रामकीर्तिकुमुदमालानाम्नो ग्रन्थस्य टिप्पणीकारेण दुर्गाप्रसादत्रिपाठिना ग्रन्थान्ते लिखितम्—"श्रीविश्वम्भरात्मसम्भवश्रीगुरुधरणीधरश्री-धरचरणाराधनसावधानत्रिविक्रमकृता रामकीर्तिकुमुदमाला सम्पूर्णा" इति। अस्याः सम्पादकाः डॉ० चन्द्रभानुत्रिपाठिमहाशया एवं लिखन्ति—"अयमाशाधरभट्टः सप्त-दशशताब्द्या उत्तरार्द्धेऽष्टादशशताब्द्याः पूर्वार्द्धे चासीदिति त्रिविक्रमेण कविना सह तस्यैककालस्थितिरिति प्रमाणिता भवति। अनयोर्गुरुवरस्य धरणीधरस्यापि स्थिति-कालः स एवासीत्।

प्रस्तुतस्य काव्यस्य रचयितुर्गुरुर्धरणीधरोऽप्यभिन्न एव प्रतिभाति। अतएव तत्कर्तुः कवेः पूर्वोक्त एव समयो निश्चेतुं शक्यते। कैटलागसकैटलागरमग्रन्थेन (सं० ४९६) धरणीधरनामा कश्चित् रसवतीशतकस्य प्रणेतृत्वेन निर्दिष्टः। गोवर्धनकाव्यस्य पाण्डुलिपिरेका अलवरसंग्रहालयेऽपि निर्दिष्टा। सम्भवतस्तत्र जगन्नाथो धरणीधरस्य पुत्रत्वेन निर्दिष्टः।

कविः षट्सर्गमयीं स्वकृतिमिमां 'महाकाव्य' मिति निर्दिशति विपश्चितां मनो भक्तिरसार्द्रं कर्तुमस्य निर्माणे यत्न इत्याचष्टे च (१।३)। प्रथमसर्गस्य प्रथम पद्ये स बालत्रिपुरादेव्याः पदाम्बुजं स्मरति। काव्यस्यास्य कथावस्तु बालरूपस्य श्रीकृष्णस्याद्भुतचेष्टिताश्रयम्। कविरयमलङ्कृतशैल्या महाकवीन् भारविमाघश्रीहर्षप्रभृतीन् पदे पदेऽनुहरतीति स्फुटं प्रतीयते यत्र तत्रार्थान्तरन्यासादेरपि वर्तते सुचारुः प्रयोगः।

प्रथमःसर्गो धेनुकवधनामा, द्वितीयो नारदोपदेशाख्यः, तृतीयोऽन्नकूटमणिनामा, चतुर्थो गोवर्धनवर्णनाभिधेयः, पञ्चमः शक्रपरिभवाख्यः, षष्ठश्च गोविन्दाभिषेकोत्सवनामा।

आशासे गोवर्धनकाव्यस्य संस्करणमिदं विदुषां मुदे किञ्चित् प्रभवेदिति। काव्यस्यास्य प्रकाशनार्थमनुमतिप्रदानस्य कृते सम्पादकः प्राचार्यडॉ० गयाचरणत्रिपाठिमहोदयान् प्रति सादरमाभारभरितमात्मानमनुभवति।

—जगन्नाथपाठकः

जगन्नाथनिर्मितम्

गोवर्धनकाव्यम्

प्रथमः सर्गः

श्रियं गिरां मे वृजिनौघनाशनं तनोतु बालत्रिपुरापदाम्बुजम् ।
अनारतं यन्मुनिमस्तकालिभिः श्रितं परज्ञानसुधारसाप्तये ॥१॥

समाश्रये कश्यपवंशसम्भवं गुणान्वितं श्रीधरणीधराभिधम् ।
कृपाकटाक्षाशुगसङ्गमश्रिया श्रितं तमःसैन्यसमूहभिद्धनुः ॥२॥

कृतं जगन्नाथविपश्चितोत्तमं हरेः शिशोरद्भुतचेष्टिताश्रयम् ।
मनो महाकाव्यमिदं विपश्चितां समानयेद् भक्तिरसार्द्रतां भृशम् ॥३॥

अलङ्क्रियाहीनमकाव्यलक्षणं रसाश्रितं यद्यपि नैव मद्वचः ।
खलाः क्षमध्वं क्रियतें तथाप्यदो यथा तथा श्रीपतिकीर्तनं मया ॥४॥

श्रियः पतिर्यादववंशभूषणः श्रियाश्रितं शंसितगोव्रजं व्रजम् ।
अवातरल्लोकहिताय विद्विषां निहन्तुमुच्चैर्विवभः(?) सहाग्रजः ॥५॥

दधानमाकर्षणकम्पितस्तनीश्च्युतालकालीर्दधतीर्दधित्विषः ।
वृताः प्रसूनावनतैर्मधुव्रतैर्विलोलवल्लीरिव[1] वल्लवस्त्रियः ॥६॥

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१. क. वल्लीर्विलोला इव ।

चकासयन्तं [1]व्रजवल्लवीजनं विलोकमानं नवनीतमग्रतः ।
घटाहितैर्व्वास्यहिमांशुमण्डलच्युतं सुधासारमिवाच्छवारिषु ।।७।।

अनोकहस्कन्धकृतासु वल्लवैः स्थिता वरत्रासु सह प्रगायतीः ।
परस्परोत्प्रेषणकम्पितस्तनीर्विनोदयन्तं शिथिलोरुवल्लवीः ।।८।।

विलाल्यमानान्नवनीतसञ्चयादुपाहितं गन्धवहेन वर्त्मनि ।
मनोहरं घ्राणवितर्पणं नृणां प्रसर्पयन्तं प्रतिवीथि सौरभम् ।।९।।

प्रपूर्णकल्पाद् गुरुदोहनीभराद् गभीरधारानिनदैः समुद्गतैः ।
समासजन्तं हृदयेषु जाग्रतां प्रबुद्धपारावतपीवरध्वनिम् ।।१०।।

भृशं गृहद्वारि कृतेषु केलये गृहानुकल्पेषु गृहेषु रेणुभिः ।
विवाहयद्भिः कृतगीतिपुत्रकानुपाश्रितं गोपकुमारिकाकुलैः ।।११।।

मृदालवालप्रतिबन्ध···कुलौ (?) निवेशयद्भिः प्रतिभूमिवृक्षकान् ।
वृतीर्वितन्वद्भिरभू (मू)न् परिप्रियान् परीतमाकल्पितकेलिदारकैः ।।१२।।

विकाशिनीलाम्बुजलोचनश्रिया विपाण्डुफेनौघदुकूलशोभया ।
मृदुस्वनद्भूरिमरालमालया श्रितं स्तुवन्त्येव कलिन्दकन्यया ।।१३।।
(कुलकम्)

अथोल्लसद्भिः सवयोभिरर्भकैर्विमुक्तवत्सोत्सुकनैचिकीचयैः ।
उदीरितोऽश्रावि वनाय विष्णुना विकुञ्चितोष्ठं मुरलीमृदुध्वनिः ।।१४।।

नवीनतापिच्छदलद्युतिस्ततस्तनूद्वहन् काञ्चनकान्तमम्बरम् ।
शिखण्डिपिच्छोच्छ्रितशेखरच्छविर्ललामगुञ्जास्रजदाम सन्दधत् ।।१५।।

सुरेन्द्रचापच्छुरितं सविद्युतं विडम्बयन्नम्बुघनं घनाघनम् ।
व्रजं विधायाध्वनि धेनुकं पुरो बलेन सार्धं सखिभिर्व्यलोकि सः ।।१६।।
(युग्मम्)

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१. ख॰ कलं ।

मुखाब्जनिर्यन्मकरन्दशङ्कया मधव्रतैः प्रार्थितमोष्ठपल्लवे[1]।
स्मितं दधत्ताननुगृह्य चक्षुषा स चारयन् गा गहनं न्यविक्षत ॥१७॥

क्षरत्तुषाराम्बुकणानलिप्लुतान् विघूर्णतो मन्दनन(?) स्वनोद्धतान्[2]।
बृहल्लतां द् (?) नियतानलोकयत् पुरः स तापिच्छतरूनिभानिव ॥१८॥

प्रमोदबाष्पानिव पुष्पसञ्चयान् जहुर्विभातानिलवेल्लिता लताः।
तमीक्षमाणाश्च पुरो वमन्(?)द्रवो मनोनुरागानिव बालपल्लवान् ॥१९॥

शिरस्युदीर्णारुणरागरञ्जितानधोऽञ्जनश्यामलपल्लवव्रजान् ।
हरिस्तमालान्मदलोहिताननान् बहूनिवोदैक्षत नीलवाससः ॥२०॥

घनच्छदानां समतां गतं स्थितं तमालशाखासु शिखण्डिमण्डलम् ।
घनच्छविं कृष्णमवेक्ष्य केऽपि तान्युदीरयद् व्यक्तमबोधि वल्लवैः ॥२१॥

गवां निषेव्याः प्रततान शाद्वलीर्बहूलपाश्चारुमहीमहीयसीः।
परस्परेणेव नितान्तमीर्ष्यया समादधुः पुष्पफलानि वीरुधः ॥२२॥

वनं विशालद्रुमसम्पदाकुलं द्रुमाः प्रसूनौघनतास्तदाऽभवन् ।
प्रसूनसङ्घाश्च मधुव्रतावृता मधुव्रताः सान्द्रपरागरञ्जिताः ॥२३॥

गरीयसाऽऽपीनभरेण मन्थराः [3]कृतोर्ध्वहुङ्कारमपीतवत्सकाः।
निरीक्ष्य गोपैरुपरुध्य रक्षिता गवां गणाश्चेरुरितस्ततस्तृणम् ॥२४॥

द्रुमेषु वल्लीषु नदीष्वपक्रमं प्रसूनवृद्ध्या युगपत्प्रसारिणीम् ।
ऋतुश्रियं वीक्ष्य ननं……वः परप्रवृद्ध्या विकसन्ति साधवः ॥२५॥

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१. ख °पल्लवम्।
२. ख °द्धुरान्।
३. ख कृतोरु° ।

द्युतोरसा स्वेदपृषद्भिरुद्यतैर्विडम्बयन्नभ्रमदभ्रतारकम् ।
मनोहरच्छायमुपाययौ हरिः सहानुगैः केलिकदम्बकाननम् ।।२६।।

उपाहृतं गोपकुमारकैर्मुदा विचित्रवर्णैः कुसुमैर्विचित्रितम् ।
कसा (ला)पविद्धैर्भ्रमरैरनुद्रुतं बलाच्युतावञ्चितदाम दध्रतुः ।।२७।।

फलानि जक्षुः कुसुमानि दध्रिरे व्यख(ष?)ण्डिषुः पल्लवखण्डमुत्सुकाः ।
मुदं दधानाः श्रुतिगीतयोस्तयोर्ललम्बिरे वृक्षलतासु वल्लवाः ।।२८।।

मनोज्ञतालीफलपाकसम्भवं पृथुप्रयत्नादुपनीतमर्भकैः ।
कषायितस्वादुपरी......वं सहानुगैरापिबतां बलाच्युतौ ।।२९।।[1]

कदम्बकिञ्जल्कशिखाविकम्पनः पुरः समालिङ्गितमाधवीभरः ।
कलिन्दजा[2]वीचिविमर्दनोऽनिलस्तयोरवाक्षीत् प्रणुदन् परिश्रमम् ।।३०।।

इति प्रभुं क्रीडनतत्परं परं न चक्षमे धेनुक उग्रविग्रहः[3] ।
क्रुधोद्धुरस्तत्र विवृद्धमत्सरा महं सहन्ते न परस्य दुर्जनाः ।।३१।।

ससम्भ्रमाक्रन्दितकीर्णकाननैर्वृतोर्ध्वलाङ्गूललतं परिद्रुतैः ।
गवां गणैस्त्रा(?)मपृथूकृतेक्षणं क्षणं निवृत्येक्षितमुच्छिरोधरैः ।।३२।।

खुराभिघातक्षुभितक्षमातलं पुच्छच्छदोद्धूनितरेणुमण्डलम् ।
समापतन्तं प्रसभं बिभित्सया स्फुरत्पतङ्गौघमिवाशुशुक्षणिम् ।।३३।।

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१. क ग्रन्थे पद्यमिदं नास्ति ।
२. ख यमस्वसुर्° ।
३. ख नाम दानवः, इत्युदीरितः ।

घनान्धकारोज्ज्वलदन्तदन्तुरं बलाकिनं मेघमिवोग्रमाननम् ।
खरध्वनिं व्याददलं विपत्प्रदं ददर्श धीमानुपधेनु धेनुकम् ॥३४॥
(त्रिभिर्विशेषकम्)

रुषारुणोद्योतविशेषशोभितं स्फुरद्घनभ्रूलतया तरङ्गितम् ।
हलायुधः स्वस्य सरोजसुन्दरं मुखं दिनस्येव बभार भीषणम् ॥३५॥

अचीकथच्चैनमितीद्धसाहसादवैमि देवान् द्विषतस्तवेहितम् ।
उपेहि सद्यः फलमस्य कर्मणः परापकारी न चिराय जीवति ॥३६॥

ततो जपापुष्पवपुर्हलायुधः स धूमधूम्रश्च निशाचरेश्वरः ।
मिथोद्विषन्तावितरेतरं रुषाऽरुणान्धकाराविव तौ समीयतुः ॥३७॥

अनग्निमेन (?) द्वितयेन पादयोरमुष्य यावच्लिणिहान्त (?) धेनुकः ।
क्रुधा परावृत्य तमग्रहीत् पदोः स हस्तवांस्तत्र बली हली भृशम् ॥३८॥

विवर्तयन् भीमभुजेन दानवं निजोपरिष्टात् स नदन्तमुद्धुरम् ।
महोदयाद्रिं भ्रमदभ्रमुच्चकैर्जिगाय बालातपलोहितं हली ॥३९॥

तद्वक्त्रान्तर्निष्पतत्पत्त्रिमार्गे
प्राणज्योतिर्मण्डलं सञ्चकाशे ।
चक्षुः क्षोभं पश्यतामादधानं
विद्युज्ज्योतिर्नूनमभ्रान्तराली (ला?)न् ॥४०॥

अपतदथ पृथिव्यां धेनुको दानवेशः
शिरसि विबुधमुक्ता पुष्पवृष्टिर्बलस्य ।
युगपदमरवीथ्यां दिव्यवादित्रनादः
सकलसखिसमाजेऽचिन्तितश्च प्रमोदः ॥४०॥

इति निहत्य रिपुं सहरिर्बलः
समममसौ सखिभिः सुमनाः समैः ।
धुरि विधाय गवामपि मण्डलं
शुभगृहं प्रतिसायमुपासदत् ।।४२।।

इति श्रीगोवर्धने महाकाव्ये श्रीमद्गुरुधरणीधरचरणकमलचञ्च [री]क-श्रीजगन्नाथकविकृते धेनुक [व] धनामा प्रथमः सर्गः ।

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अथ द्वितीयः सर्गः

चारयन्नुलपकोमले वने नैचिकीरथ कदाचिदच्युतः ।
शारदेन शशिनेव शोभिना नारदेन मुनिनाऽभ्यपद्यत ॥१॥

अर (न्त) रेण करजाग्रसंक्ष [ता ?] मुच्छलद्बहलरागसङ्गिनीम् ।
बिभ्रता शुभगुणौघशालिनीं वल्लकीमुरसि वल्लभामिव ॥२॥
(युग्मम्)

ह्युपेन्द्रमुपदेष्टुमिच्छया प्रेर्यमाणमविलम्बितक्रमम् ।
शारदं घनमिवानिलेरितं तं ददर्श गगने गदाग्रजः ॥३॥

अर्घकल्पनविधेर्विधित्सया यावदुत्सुकमभून्न तन्मनः ।
तावदस्य पुरतस्तपोनिधिः सन्निधिं समधिगम्य स स्थितः ॥४॥

अर्चिताय विदुषेऽद्भुताश्रयः सूनवेऽथ सुमनाः प्रजापतेः ।
विष्टपत्रितयभूरुपाहरद् विष्टरं सपदि विष्टरश्रवाः ॥५॥

अर्पयन्तमनवद्यदर्शनः पाद्यमाद्यमधिकृत्य कृत्यवित् ।
तं निविश्य कुशमुष्टिकल्पितं जल्पितुं [1]समुपचक्रमे मुनिः ॥६॥

दर्शनेन तव दीर्घदर्शन प्रापि कैटभरिपो पुरस्क्रिया ।
तर्पितस्य सुधया मनीषिणो नेतरेषु[2] पुनरीहते मनः ॥७॥

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१. ख° तमु° ।
२. ख रेषु° ।

पाकशासनपुरःसराः सुरास्त्वत्प्रसादमधिगम्य निर्भियः ।
त्वत्पदाम्बुजधियोऽनपायिनीं स्वःश्रियं समुपभुञ्जतें चिरात् ॥८॥

अध्वरेषु हृतमन्त्रसेतुषु भूषणेषु गलितोपलेष्विव[1] ।
सन्निखन्य किल शङ्खमम्बुधेरुज्जहर्थ निगमानधिश्रियः ॥९॥

मग्नमूर्तिरधिकल्पमुत्थिते सागराम्भसि महीमहीयसि ।
दंष्ट्रया समुदहारि शुभ्रया लीलया स्रगिव विष्णुना त्वया ॥१०॥

वज्रखण्डकठिनं नखाङ्कुरैस्त्वं हिरण्यकशिपोरुरः पुरा ।
भक्तवत्सलतया तया हरे स्वःकपाटविकटं व्यपीपटः ॥११॥

वामनोऽपि भगवन्तवन्न (?) वानामभागमवतामपश्चिमः ।
विक्रमत्रयजितं त्रिविष्टपं संविधाय बलिमीशमच्छलत् ॥१२॥

क्षत्रजातकठिनांसघटनादक्षतः क्षतजपङ्कपाटलः ।
तावकः परपुरीश(?) सङ्गरे कुप्यदन्तकरुचिं व्यडम्बयत् ॥१३॥

रावणं यदवहत्य वज्रिणः प्राज्यराज्यमथ भद्रमातनोः ।
गीयसे स्म विदुषां वरैस्ततो रामभद्र इति भद्रलक्षणः ॥१४॥

जासितुं सपदि लोकविद्विषां देवकीजठरगः परः पुमान् ।
योगिनामविषयोऽपि गम्यते घोषवासिभिरघौघहृद् भवान् ॥१५॥

भूमिभारमवनेर्जिहीर्षुणा चेष्टयते यदिह बाललीलया ।
प्रेक्ष्य तत्सुमनसामहर्निशं प्राप्यतेऽनिमिषताफलं गणैः ॥१६॥

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१. ख प्रच्युताश्ममु विभूषणेष्विव ।

मण्डनं किमपरं परं क्षितेर्मङ्गलं किमथवा व्रजौकसाम् ।
यत्त्वदीयपदपङ्कजाञ्जितं धाम नाम यदि धूतपातकम् ॥१७॥

श्रेयसीषुपनिषद्विशारदे नारदे गिरमुदीर्य संस्थिते ।
वाचमाचरणपूतभूतलः पूतनारिपुरिति स्म भाषते ॥१८॥

युज्यते मतिमतां वरत्वयोदीरितं सपदि दिव्यचक्षुषा ।
प्रष्टुमागमनकारणं पुनश्चापलं विवृणुते ममार्भता ॥१९॥

भारतीमिति निशम्य वैष्णवीमीशु (षु!) षां स तपसामथाश्रयः ।
ईप्सितं कलहकौतुकी मुनिर्व्याजहार हरिसन्निधौ पुनः ॥२०॥

सङ्गतः सपदि धेनुकारिणा किं विधातुमलमस्ति नो भवान् ।
इत्युपेन्द्र महसां निधे मया क्रीडितुं किमपि चारु दिश्यते ॥२१॥

विष्टपत्रयपते तवाज्ञया वासवध्वजमुदस्य वल्लवाः ।
अन्नकूटमुपकल्प्य तं गवां वर्द्धनं गिरिमुपार्चयन्त्विति ॥२२॥
. (युग्मम्)

ओमिति प्रणिगदन्तमुत्थितं पार्वणं विधुमिवोज्ज्वलत्प्रभम् ।
वीचिडम्बर इवाम्भसां निधेस्तं समीक्ष्य ववृधे मुदा मुनिः ॥२३॥

आशिषः समुपयुज्य जिष्णवे स्वः समेयुषि विधातुरङ्गजे ।
सन्निवर्त्य सुरभीः सहाग्रजः सोऽभ्यवर्तत गृहं गदाग्रजः ॥२४॥

दृशमथ दधतौ समुत्सुकेषु प्रतिवनवीथि शिखण्डिमण्डलेषु ।
शुभमृषिवचनं हृदि स्मरन्तौ व्रजमुपसेदतुरच्युतौ प्रहृष्टौ ॥२५॥

इति गोवर्धने महाकाव्ये श्रीमद्गुरुधरणीधरचरणकमलचञ्चरीकश्रीजगन्नाथ-कविकृते न(ना)रदोपदेशनाम द्वितीयः सर्गः ।

अथ तृतीयः सर्गः

सुरमुनिवचनेऽथ विश्वसन्तः सपदि समुत्सुकचेतसः समेताः ।
निजगृहविभवानुरूपमन्नं व्यधिषत गोपगणाः सह प्रियाभिः ॥१॥

अनुगृहमभिकाङ्क्षितं जनानां मनसि यदुद्गतमापुरेव ते तत् ।
किमिव न सुलभां(भं) निरस्तहेतौ सपदि विधावनुकूलतां प्रयाते ॥२॥

इदमिदमिति सत्वरं क्षिपन्तः
शकटगृहेष्व(?) थं स(सं) विधा (?) विभूतिम् ।
अभिनवमहजातकौतुकास्ते
बहुगुणितानि गतागतानि चक्रुः ॥३॥

दिशि दिशि परितस्तें (स्त) रे तदानी-
मुषसि विनिर्यति माधवे सबन्धौ ।
वधिरितजगदण्डखण्डचण्डः
पटहसहस्रसमुद्भवः प्रणादः ॥४॥

अथ परिदधतां विभूषणानि स्फुरितमणिद्युतिकर्बुराम्बराणि ।
सुललितगतिसुन्दरीजनानां समुदितसम्भ्रमयमविभ्रमा बभूवुः ॥५॥

परिलुलदलकद्युतिं दधानाऽनुपहितदक्षिणपादमण्डनैका ।
शिथिलितभुजवल्लिवल्लवस्त्रीस्खलदुरुकङ्कणझङ्कृति प्रतस्थे ॥६॥

अविरलपुलकाकुलं निजोरःस्थलमलमुच्चलितोरुहारशून्यम् ।
द्रुतपदमभिनिर्यती सखीभिः सह सहसा न विवेद काचिदन्या ।।७।।

अकलितविनिवेशमर्पयन्ती सपदि पदेषु विभान्ति भूषणानि ।
प्रियतममभितोऽभिवर्तमानं स्मितमुखमिन्दुमुखी चकार काचित् ।।८।।

व्रज ननु न नुमस्तव प्रतीक्षामिति युगपत् प्रतिवेशिनीभिरुक्ता ।
त्वरिततरमबोधि निर्व्रजन्ती धृतमपरा न विपर्ययेण वासः ।।९।।

मणिमयमवतंसमर्पयित्वा किरणविमृष्टकपोलमेककर्णे ।
तमितरमपि पाणिना ददाना द्रुतमितरा निरियाय पक्ष्मलाक्षी ।।१०।।

प्रतियुवति समागमप्ररूढां रुषमपहाय पिनद्धमण्डनश्रीः ।
व्यवहितमुपकण्ठ एव पूर्वं प्रियतममन्यतमोन्मनीचकार ।।११।।

मसृणनिजकपोलदर्पणेऽन्या प्रतिफलितं स्वसखीमुखं सपत्रम् ।
मुकुरमभिविलोकन्त्यवेक्ष्य द्रुतमगमन्न लिलेख पत्रलेखाम् ।।१२।।

विधुमुखि विदधासि किं विलम्बं त्वमिति समाह्वयतो विपक्षनाम्ना ।
द्रुतगमनसमुत्सुकाऽपि गोत्रस्खलितमबुध्यत नैव भर्तुरेका ।।१३।।

अयि सुतनु महोत्सवं समेहीत्यभिगदिता स्वसखीजनैर्नवोढा ।
त्रिचतुरपदमेत्य कान्तमेक्ष्य स्मितचकितास्यमसौ निवर्तते स्म ।।१४।।

इति सहरभसं विनिर्व्रजन्त्यः
कृतकलमङ्गलगीतिरक्त (?) वन्द्यः ।
व्रजपतिमुपगोपुरेऽभिषेदुः
सुरवनिता इव सुभ्रुवः समेताः ।।१५।।

विकचकलकदम्बनव्यमाल्यं स्फुरदचिरांशुलताम्बरं दधानम् ।
अभिनवशिखिचन्द्रकेन्द्रचापं शुचिकुरुविन्दसुरेन्द्रगोपजालम् ।।१६।।

जलगुरुजलदप्रभाभिरामं प्रशमितताप(?)मसूर्सु(?)रारिमारात् ।
घनसमयमिव क्षमामुपेतं ददृशुरुदञ्चितलोचनास्तरुण्यः ।।१७।।
(युग्मम्)

घनपणवमृदङ्गशृङ्गवंशीजलभवझर्झरगोमुखानकानाम् ।
ध्वनिरुदचरदुद्धुरः सुराणां गृहवलभीः प्रतिनादयन् जवेन ।।१८।।

अथ दलितमनःशिलानुलिप्ताः सुरुचिरघर्घरकिङ्किणीकलापाः ।
विरचितहरितालभक्तिभाजः सुरभिगणाः सुमनःस्रजो विचित्राः ।।१९।।

विविधमणिकलापकान्तिकीर्णैर्बहलविशेषितभक्तिभिः स्ववत्सैः ।
मणिमयरचितैरिवोधसेद्धा धुरि विहिता ययुरुत्सुकाः स्रवन्तः ।।२०।।
(युग्मम्)

श्रुतिपटमभिपूरयन् स वेणु-
ध्वनि[सु]धया हृदयानि भावयन्त्या ।
हरिरचलमनूघबाल (मनूच्चचाल) गोपीः
स्खलितगतीः स्मरजर्जराश्च कुर्वन् ।।२१।।

विरचितशुचिगीतयो विरेजुः
पथि पथि गोपगणाः सुमृष्टवेषाः ।
गिरिमहमुपदृष्टुमुद्ध(?)जन्तः
शरदमलाः कमलाकरा इवोत्काः ।।२२।।

व्रजति यदुपतौ पुरादमुष्मात् परिमुत्सववत्सलैः स्वलोकैः ।
प्रविततमपि वर्त्म धीरघोषैः शकटशतैरतिसङ्कटं बभूव ।।२३।।

अनुगतपवनैर्विधूयमानाः
परिकलिताः शकटेषु भूरिभूषाः ।
अभिनयमिव कुर्वते स्म……लाद्
वसनशिखाः कुसुमस्रजः पताकाः ।।२४।।

भृशकुसुमितवि (वी)रुधः समन्तात्
परिमलनिश्चलम(?)न्तभृङ्गगीताः ।
प्रमुदितशिखिताण्डवा वनाल्यः
समहर्षिताः कृतमङ्गला इवासन् ।।२५।।

विघटितगमनस्पृहाः स्वपोतैः प्रचलितपुष्पलतं स्तनं धयद्भिः ।
अतुलमुदमुपागमन् युवत्यः प्रणयवतीर्हरिणीर्विलोकमानाः ।।२६।।

इति विविधवनस्थलीः स पश्यन् कुसुमसमृद्धिमतीः समृद्धसत्त्वाः ।
नगपतिमभितः समाससाद सह रमणैर्व्रजयोगि (षि) तां समाजः ।।२७।।

अथ मुदितमनाः स तान्निरीक्ष्य व्रजपतिरुत्सवधित्सया समेतान् ।
उचितमभिदधे वचः प्रमोदं द्विगुणमिवोद्गमयन् मनःसु गोपान् ।।२८।।

गिरिरयमतिभाति वल्लभो वः कुरुत निवेशमुपत्यकासु गोपाः ।
इह विविधविधानमन्नकूटं ददततरामुपहारसम्पममुष्मै ।।२९।।

इति हरिगदितां गिरं निशम्य शकटशतादवतीर्य भारमारात् ।
द्रुतमुषसि समारभन्त सर्वे द्विजकृतमङ्गलमुत्सवं समुत्काः ।।३०।।

द्रुततरमुपकल्पयाम्बभूवुः क्षितिगतकल्पमहीरुहप्रकल्पाः ।
अतिगिरिवरमानमन्नकूटं प्रव (क) टितकौतुकवृत्तिगोपवर्याः ।।३१।।

तव विरचितमादरादमीभिर्गुरुमुपहारमुपादत्स्व मूर्तः ।
गिरिवरसुखसम्पदाममीषां सपदि समेधय संहतिं कृतार्थः ।।३२।।

इति गिरमभिधाय हृद्यहृद्यां गिरिशिखरे प्रकटीबभूव कृष्णः ।
भवदतुलसुखावतारहेतोरयमहमस्मि वदान्त(?)तीक्षितश्च ।।३३।।
(युग्मम्)

जय जय गिरिराज ते नमोऽस्तु प्रकटितरूपकृतार्थतां गताः स्मः ।
भवदुदयसमृद्धिशान्तिहेतोर्यदसि हरेरतनोस्तनोः सवर्णः ।।३४।।

विकसितनवपुण्डरीकरम्यं नयनयुगं करुणाकरम्भिगर्भम् ।
अधरितनवबन्धुजीवगुच्छामधरपुटीं मधुपैरुपासिताञ्च ।।३५।।

तुलदलककुलाकुलान्तमीषद्घनपरिवेषमिवेन्दुमाननञ्च ।
कुसुमितमिव मालयोरुवक्षः स्फुटमणिकुण्डलमण्डितौ च गण्डौ ।।३६।।

कलितमुरलिकञ्च हस्तमुच्चैर्धृतशिखिपिच्छमतुच्छकं शिरश्च ।
जननयनमधुव्रतैकवासं प्रतिजितकोकनदं च पादपद्मम् ।।३७।।

जलधररुचिरं वपुर्बिभर्षि
क्षणरुचिरोचिरुदारमम्बरञ्च ।
तदिह भवतु भूतये भवान्नः
सपदि गवामपि (धि ?) शर्म शैल धेहि ।।३८।।
(कुलकम्)

उपहितमिदमप्यशान तेऽन्नं
स्तवमपि कर्तुमनीश्वरास्तव स्मः ।
अतिशयितमहामहोमहिम्नां
क इह गुणानुपवर्णितुं समर्था (र्थः) ।।३९।।

एषामित्थं नतिततिभृतामर्च्चितः श्रीनिवासः
प्रीत्या प्रेयान् पुलकिततनुः प्रीतिमान् [सं]बभूव ।
भुक्त्वा वान्तव्यतिकरमगप्रख्यमाख्यातकीर्तिः
कल्याणीं तां तनुमिह तिरोऽधत्त गोवर्द्धनोऽद्रिः ।।४०।।

पूजां विधाय नगभर्तुरिति प्रतीताः
शीर्षप्रणाममितरेतरमालिलिङ्गुः ।
लक्ष्मीपतेः शुभमनर्घ्यमुदारमुच्चै-
रुच्चारयन्ति चरितञ्च तदा स्म गोपाः ॥४१॥

इति श्रीगोवर्द्धने महाकाव्ये श्रीमद्गुरुधरणीधरचरणाम्बुजमधुकरश्रीजगन्नाथ-कविकृतेऽन्नकूटमणिनामा तृतीयः सर्गः ॥

अथ चतुर्थः सर्गः

अथ विलोकयितुं रमणीयतां शिखरिणः परिणद्धमहोदयाम् ।
हरिनिदेशभृतः सह गोदुहां शिखरमारुरुहुर्विधुना गणाः ॥१॥

विततवंशवनाकुलितानिलं शमिततोयदतोयदवोद्गमम् ।
कमलसौरभसङ्गिमधुव्रतं प्रविततं विततं दधतं शिरः ॥२॥

निचितमश्मचयैर्द्विरदप्रभैर्द्विरददन्तविघट्टनविक्षतैः ।
गलितगैरिकनिर्झरनिर्भरैः सरुधिरैरिव तन्मुखरैः क्वचित् ॥३॥

जलधरध्वनिरोषितकेसरिप्रतिरवद्रुतमत्तमतङ्गजम् ।
स्फुटितनिर्भरहासिदरीमुखं विहगराजिविकूजितकाननम् ॥४॥

कुसुमभारविभुग्नशिखैर्मुहुर्मधुकरव्रजगीतमहोदयैः ।
अविरलच्छदकोमलकान्तिभिस्तरुभरैरभितः परिशोभितम् ॥५॥

(कुलकम्)

अद्रेः शोभामित्थमुद्वीक्ष्य हृद्यां प्रीतस्वान्तः कृष्णमुत्फुल्लनेत्रम् ।
ज्ञाताकूतः पूतनारिं विहस्य वाचामीशो रौहिणेयो बभाषे ॥६॥

पश्याच्युतास्यरुचिरां रुचिमुल्लसन्तीं
शोभां गुणैर्जितवतः परिभूय मेरोः ।
गोवर्द्धनस्य सुरसेवितपादभूमे-
र्धूमान्धकारिततनोरिव मेघवृन्दैः ॥७॥

मुक्ता मृगेन्द्रहतहस्तिशिरोविमुक्ताः
श्यामाश्मकान्तिशबलाः कुरुविन्दभूषु ।
गुञ्जाफलद्युतिभृतोऽत्र गिरौ गृ(ग्र)हीतुं
गोवर्द्धने रभसयन्ति किरातनारीः ॥८॥

रत्नच्छायस्फुरितमहेन्द्रेष्वासास्तोयाभारादलघु गतं बिभ्राणाः ।
धीरध्वानक्षुभितमृगेन्द्रव्यूहाः शृङ्गैर्धत्ते जलधरमालां शैलः ॥९॥

मरकतमयीं भूमिं प्राप्य प्रकाशमुपागतां
कनकतटभूच्छायां प्रातर्विभावसुपिङ्गलाम् ।
इह रविकरोद्योतभ्रान्त्याश्रयन्ति शिलोच्चये
तरुणशिशिरस्तोमच्छित्यै द्रुतं हरिणीगणाः ॥१०॥

ज्योत्स्नाशुभ्रा राजती भित्तिरुच्चैः सौवर्णाभि[1]र्भाति रेखाभिरेषा ।
अस्मिन्नद्रौ पिङ्गलाभिर्जटाभिर्भस्मश्येना[2] शङ्करस्येव मूर्तिः ॥११॥

इह हेमतटीं पटीयसीं स्फुटितां रत्नकरैर्विकस्वरैः ।
ज्वलितज्वलनाभिशङ्कया शलभानामभिपित्सति व्रजः ॥१२॥

दीप्तज्वालज्वलनरुचिरस्वर्णपूर्णार्द्धभागा
दुर्वर्णस्य स्फुरति परित[3]श्चन्द्रिकाभास्तटीयम् ।
दुर्दर्शाऽपि त्रिदशनिवहैर्लोकविश्रामभूमि-
र्मूर्तिः शश्वत्तिमिरशमनीवार्द्धनारीश्वरस्य ॥१३॥

कलभा सरसीरिहागता कलभाः सध्वनिहंससारसाः ।
विकशन्ति मुदा मुहुर्वने विकसन्नीरजराजिराजिते ॥१४॥

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१. °र्णाभिः ।
२. °श्येनी ।
३. पुरत° ।

जलजं नदीषु जलजन्तुधुतं मधुपोषितोऽमधुपोपगतम् ।
सुमनोवधूकुसुमनोदकरं सुरभीह भाति सुरभीति पयः ।।१५।।

उत्फेनस्फुटपयसः सुवर्णरूपाः श्यामाश्मक्षितिपतिता शितासिभासः ।
आलोलैरिह पवनैर्विधूयमाना निर्मोकाः खलभुजगश्रियं श्रयन्ते ।।१६।।

तरणिकिरणसङ्गव्यक्तविस्फार्यमाणा
स्फटिकशिखरलेखा दूरमभ्रंलिहैषा ।
सुरसरिदुरुधारां स्वर्णसारां पतन्ती-
मनुवदति पुरस्तादत्र भूमीधरेन्द्रे ।।१७।।

कुञ्जरापचितशल्लकीद्रुमं कुञ्जराञ्चितऽमधुव्रतव्रजम् ।
वासितानिलममुष्य काननं वासिताण्डजगणं विभासते ।।१८।।

दन्तान्तरादुभयतो दधदाशु निर्य-
द्दन्तायितं स्फटिकयष्टिसवर्णमम्भः ।
दन्तावलस्य परिलीनकरस्य कृत्स्ना-
मन्तर्दधाति सुषमामिह गण्डशैलः ।।१९।।

हरिन्मणिनिरन्तरप्रतिगलप्रभाडम्बर-
स्फुरत्किरणधोरणीमसृणमत्र पृथ्वीतलम् ।
अमूनि परितः स्फुरल्ललितशाद्वलीशङ्कया
श्रयन्त्यनुदिनं मुहुर्मृगकदम्बकानि द्रुतम् ।।२०।।

आबद्धशुद्धगजमौक्तिकभूषणाभि-
र्बाणासनस्फुरदनेकशिलीमुखाभिः ।
कात्यायनीभिरिव सङ्गर एष शैलः
सिंहोद्धताभिरभिधर्षरितो गुहाभिः ।।२१।।

धूमाकारामसितमणीनां दीप्तें-
मत्वा धारां धरणितलादुद्यन्तीम् ।
रोधः[1] प्रान्तादवनतमूर्द्धा शाखी
धत्ते तीव्रं तप इव शैलेन्द्रेऽस्मिन् ॥२२॥

पतन्महानीलशिलावलीनां पतन्महाराशिरिहागराजि ।
पतन्महारावमुपैति लक्ष्मीं पतन्महानीलशुकावलीनाम् ॥२३॥

मधुरञ्जितालिजलरुण्मधुरं विततं सरःस्विह जलं विततम् ।
सुरसङ्घसेवितमलं सुरसं ध्वनिलम्बिवंशवनसाध्वनिलम् ॥२४॥

अर्कांशुदीप्तरविकान्तनितान्ततुङ्ग-
राशिं निधाय चतसृष्वपि मंक्षु दिक्षु ।
अस्मिन् सहस्रकिरणाभिमुखं निदाघे
तीव्रं तपस्यति तपस्विगणोमुमुक्षुः ॥२५॥

कुरङ्गनाभीरतगन्धर्वर्द्धिनी
कुरङ्गनाभिः स्थगिता सुराकुला ।
स्वरागताभिस्थगितासुराकुला
स्वरागताभिः स्थगिता सुराकुला ॥२६॥

विशोभते कन्दलजालशालिनी वनावली गन्धभरावशालिनी ।
इह स्थलाम्भोजपरागपाटला पटूभवत्पुष्पपलाश[2]पाटला ॥२७॥
(युग्मम्)

आभाति फुल्लकुसुमस्तबकानुबन्धि-
गुञ्जद्‌द्विरेफकुलसङ्कुलिताभिरेषः ।

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१. वप्र° ।
२. °पराग° ।

गन्धर्वगीतरजितोरुमृगावलीभि-
गन्धोद्धुराभिरभितो मधुमाधवीभिः ।।२८।।

रत्नप्रभाशबलिताम्बरवीयमाणः
श्रीचन्दनप्रसभसौरभवासिताङ्गः ।
अङ्काधिरूढवनराजिवधूपगूढः
कामीव भाति गिरिरेष विशेषकान्तः ।।२९।।

अभ्रच्छेदैश्छन्नत्यक्ता वारं वारं हैम्यास्तद्याः[1] ।
अस्मिन् दीप्तिः सौ (शौ?) रेरुस्त्रैर्व (र्ध) त्ते विद्युन्मालालक्ष्मीम् ।।३०।।

पवनविमर्दोच्छलितपरागा मधुकरवृन्दारवरमणीया ।
इह नवगन्धोद्धुरमकरन्दा स्फुरति वनीयं कुसुमविचित्रा ।।३१।।

उद्रश्मिकान्तकुरुविन्ददलावलीढः
कुञ्जान्तरे स्फटिकभित्त(त्ति) भरैरमुस्मिन् ।
बिभ्रन्मरन्दरजसोपरिपङ्कलेप-
मापाकपाक इव भाति दरीप्रदेशः ।।३२।।

कपोलकाषादभिषक्तमुच्चैस्तरौ महानागमदस्य गन्धम् ।
अस्मिन् स[2]माघ्राय रुषाऽभिषिक्तः समूलकाषङ्कषतीभराजः ।।३३।।

मणिकलापकदीधितिदीपिनीरगुरुचन्दनसौरभनिर्भराः ।
घनपयोधरसंवलितास्तटीर्दधदसौ वनिता इव दीप्यते ।।३४।।

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१. °म्नस्तद्याः (?) ।
२. इहैनमा° ।

हरितालगैरिकवनी[1]रभितः शिखराणि बिभ्रति बृहन्ति दधत् ।
गिरिरेष भाति रमणीयतरः सुरसुभ्रुवां तिलकमण्डनभृत् ।।३५।।

इह यावकद्रवसवर्णरुचः किरणैर्गतेषु (पथि) संवलितैः ।
सुरयोषितां चरणयोररुणः प्रतिकर्म बिभ्रति महामणयः ।।३६।।

धुतचन्दनागुरुगभीरपरिमलकलापमन्थरः ।
वाति सकलकणबन्धुरिह स्मरबोधनो वनसदां समीरणः ।।३७।।

(सु) विरावविततं ततं सदवनं वनं कुसुममञ्जुलमिह ।
मनोधृतिकरं करञ्जनिविडं विडम्बितधवं धवन्ति मरुतः ।।३८।।

उच्चैरुच्चैः शिखरसमूहासङ्गी
सङ्गीतैः स्वर्युवतिजनानां हारी ।
हारीतौघैर्मरि(?) चलतां संसक्तैः
सक्तैश्चैण्यां स्फुरति गिरिः सारङ्गैः ।।३९।।

इहाभिषिक्तः सुरनिम्नगाझरैर्निरुध्य सञ्चारमसौ नभस्वताम् ।
भृगुस्तपस्यन्निव तीव्रमुच्चकैर्लोकानतिक्रामति भूरिरोचिषा ।।४०।।

इत्थं प्रदर्श्य नगभर्तुरमुष्य लक्ष्मीं
लक्ष्मीं दधान उरगेन्द्रवरावतारः ।
तारापतिद्युतिरसौ नयनाभिरामः
साधीयसः स्ववचसो विरराम रामः ।।४१।।

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१. °खनी° ।

इति सुभगतां पश्यन्तोऽद्रेरमी हरिवल्लभाः
सह युवतिभिः[1] क्रीडां चक्रुर्यथासुखमभ्रमाः ।
जगुरपि जगद्योनेः कर्मप्रभूतमहोदयं
शुभकरमघक्षोभच्छाद[2]प्ररूढतनूरुहाः ॥४२॥

इति श्रीगोवर्द्धने महाकाव्ये श्रीमद्गुरुधरणीधरचरणाब्जमधुकर[3]श्रीजगन्नाथ-कवि (कृते) गोवर्द्धनवर्णननामा तुरीयः[4] सर्गः ॥

१. युवतिसहिताः ।
२. °च्छेदि° ।
३. °मधुप° ।
४. गोवर्द्धनवर्णनो नाम चतुर्थः ।

पञ्चमः सर्गः

विहितं निशम्य गिरियज्ञमथ परिषदि व्रजालयैः ।
पाणियुगलमभिपिष्य रुषा बलभिद् बलाहकबलं व्युदैक्षत ॥१॥

रिपुविप्लवाय गुरुरोषजवनपवनैरुदञ्चितः ।
वृत्रशमनजलधिं चलतामनयद् द्रुतं भ्रुकुटिवीचिडम्बरः ॥२॥

प्रकृतार्द्धनृत्यमलमास्त सपदि चकितोऽप्सरोगणः ।
नम्रवलितनयना मुनयो जयशब्दमूचुरवि[1]शङ्कया शनैः ॥३॥

विहितानतिं स्थितमवेक्ष्य चरणनिकटे कृताञ्जलिम् ।
रोषदहनघनधूमनिभं मघवानवोचदिति पुष्करं वचः ॥४॥

सुरनायकस्य मम पश्य समजनि कियानतिक्रमः ।
घोषवसतिभिरशङ्कितया भुजगैरिवोज्जितविषैर्गरुत्मतः ॥५॥

ननु गोधनैरतिसमृद्धिमभिययुरमी ममार्चनात् ।
द्वेषवलितमतयो मयि तें मदयन्ति कं न[2] खलु चञ्चलाःश्रियः ॥६॥

धरणीभरावतरणाय भुवमुप[3]गतो ममानुजः ।
विष्णुरहितमति मामथवा प्रतिलङ्घतेयमभिसंश्रितो व्रजः ॥७॥

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१. °मभि° ।

२. कान्न ।

३. °मभि° ।

तदमून् वनौकस उपेत्य सुरभिगणमन्तदुर्दिनैः ।
ध्वंसमुचितमभिलम्भयतं[1] महदाक्रमः सपदि हन्ति सम्पदः ।।८।।

अहमाश्रितो द्विरदनाथमनुपदमुपैमि सत्वरः ।
क्षिप्रपवननिवहैरधुना त्वमपि प्रयाहि धुरि तूर्णमम्बुदैः ।।९।।

इति वासवस्य कुपितस्य वचनमवकर्ण्य पुष्करः ।
अन्तपवनपरिधूतवपुः प्रलयप्रवृत्त इव शैलमभ्ययात् ।।१०।।

परितस्तरे जलदजालमुपरि परितश्च मण्डलैः ।
भीमनिनदनिवहैरनिशं जनयन् मयूररवरावितां महीम् ।।११।।

परितर्ज्जयन्निव करालमचिररुचिहस्तविभ्रमैः ।
अभ्रनिवह उदतिष्ठि(ष्ठि)पत (?)कुपिताकभ्रुकुटिभीषणं धनुः ।।१२।।

इति मेघमण्डलमुदीक्ष्य शिखरिशिखरादवातरन् ।
गोपसमितय उदूढभयं चलचेतसश्च सहगोभिरास्थिताः ।।१३।।

निबिडान्धकारहृतमूर्ति वपुरविभृतां च रोदसी ।
धूमपटलपरिधूतमिव क्षुभितावलोकमचिरांशुविभ्रमैः ।।१४।।

परिवर्तयन्निव ररास वियति विधुतो घनाम्बुधिः ।
उद्यदचिररुचिकल्पशिखिस्फुरितोरुहेतिनिवहैर्भयङ्करः ।।१५।।

मथिता नु सा[नु] ववनवीथिपरुषपरुषाः सशर्कराः ।
शीर्णशिखरिशिखराः प्रसभस्वनमाकुलाकुलमवुः प्रभञ्जनाः ।।१६।।

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१. °लङ्घयतं ।

ववृषुर्बलाहककवलानि (नभसि) मुसलस्थवीयसीः ।
वज्रपञ्जरसितैरिव तं स्फुटयन्ति शैलमनुबन्धिनीरपः ।।१७।।

अधिवृष्टि (सृष्टि) निहितानि सपदि सुरभीकुलान्यलम् ।
भुग्नवदनमस (हा)नि भृशं प्रचकम्पिरे शिशिरवातशातनैः ।।१८।।

जननी यदन्तरविलीनशिथिलतरमूर्द्धवत्सकम् ।
स्तन्यविघटितरुचि प्रसभं विजहावसूननिलझम्पकम्पितम् ।।१९।।

शकटान्तरेषु तरुणीभिरतिभयनिमीलितेक्षणम् ।
कण्ठविषयमभिसस्वजिरे हृदयेश्वरा हृदयवेपथूत्तरम् ।।२०।।

गुरुसाध्वसक्षुभितकण्ठविगलदविभाविताक्षरम् ।
हूततनुजतरुणीसुहृदां स्तनितैः प्यधायिषत गोदुहां रवाः ।।२१।।

विधुरीभवन्तमिति वीक्ष्य निजजनमनुक्षणं हरिः ।
गर्वमतुलमवतारयितुं शतयज्वनः सपदि यत्नमाविशत् ।।२२।।

अथ लीलया करतलेन कमलमुकुलम्रदीयसा ।
आशु समुदहृत लोकगतिर्जगतीधरं तमिव कन्दुकं शिशुः ।।२३।।

भुजगेशमूर्द्धमणिजालकिरणपटलानि सर्वतः ।
अन्धतमसमभितः प्रसभं कुहरेऽस्य सक्तमुपनिन्युरुच्चकैः ।।२४।।

विवरान्तसक्ततनवोऽद्धमवनितलमद्धमास्थिताः ।
मूलविततय इवास्य गिरश्चकासिषुर्विपुलमूर्तयोऽहयः ।।२५।।

मधुघातिना विघटितस्य धरणितलतो धराभृतः ।
पूर्णजलधिनिनदानि भृशं शिखराणि तूर्णमभिसञ्जुघूर्णिरे ।।२६।।

फा० ४

करसङ्गमेन यदुभर्तुरुपचितगुरुप्रमोदभृत् ।
हृष्टतनुरुह इवातिबभौ धरणीधरः सविकचोरुभूरुहः ।।२७।।

अवदत् स गोपगणमाशु सरसहृदयोऽनुकम्पया ।
पाणिनखरशिखरे शिखरिप्रवरं प्रसूनमिव बिभ्रदभ्रमः ।।२८।।

सह्गोधनास्त्वरितमत्र विशत विवरे व्रजौकसः ।
गर्भभयमिव मम स्मरणं शमयिष्यतीन्द्रभयमेष वो गिरिः ।।२९।।

इति भारतीं समवकर्ण्य वनवसतयः सगोगणाः ।
आशु वि [वि] शुरगराजबिलं भवविप्लुता इव हरेः परं पदम् ।।३०।।

धरणीभृतोऽविरतधारमुपरि ववृषे घनाघनैः ।
जन्मविपदमथ भागवतं व्रजम [स्पृ] शन्नथ न वारिविप्रुषः ।।३१।।

भुजदण्डमास्थितममुष्य धरणिधरघर्मवारणम् ।
वृष्टिविपदमिव मोहधियं तिरयाञ्चकार परमार्थदर्शनम् ।।३२।।

विहगैरवाङ्मुखमपाति विगलदसुभिः सहस्रशः ।
रोषमगमि मृगराजकुलं रसितैरनुक्षणमुपोढसम्भ्रमैः ।।३३।।

सरितः समैधिषत भूमिरभवदतुलैर् [जलैः] प्लुता ।
कष्टमनिशममराधिपतिस्तनुते स्म वृष्टिमिति सप्त वासरान् ।।३४।।

वितथं समीक्ष्य निजवर्षमुपरतमदः शतक्रतुः ।
क्षीणतिमिरपटलः शुशुभे स्फुरितप्रसाद इव यामिनीक्षयः ।।३५।।

गलितें व्यलोकयदुदूढदुरित इव गाढदुर्दिने ।
गोपसमितिरभिगम्य बहिर्निजभाग्यराशिमिव भास्करोदयम् ।।३६।।

शनकैर्भुजामवनमय्य   सपदि   धरणावधिष्ठिपत् ।
भारशिथिलितफणीन्द्रफणैर्विधृतं   कथञ्चिदचलेशमच्युतः ।।३७।।

यूथानि   वत्सवयसामपि   शृङ्गिणीनां
शृङ्गाणि सद्रुमलतानि गतानि नाशम् ।
दृष्टयाऽमृतस्य परितः कृतयेव वृष्टया
सञ्जीवितानि   विदधे   सविधिर्विधीनाम् ।।३८।।

इत्थं गोपान् जलदविपदस्तूर्णमुत्तीर्य धीरो
गोपालत्वं स्फुटमिव दधद् योगयुक्तं शुभश्रीः ।
प्रेम्णा गोपैर्विहितनतिभिः स्तूयमानप्रभावः
स्मेरव्रीडानमितवदनो बालवज्जोषमासीत् ।।३९।।

इति श्रीगोवर्द्धने महाकाव्ये शुभाङ्के श्रीमद्गुरुधरणीधरचरणाब्जभ्रमर[1]श्री जगन्नाथकविकृते शक्रपरिभवनामा[2] पञ्चमः सर्गः ।

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१. °मधुप° ।
२. °परिभवो नाम ।

षष्ठः सर्गः

स्फुरितप्रभावमतिबालबलं जगदाश्रयं श्रितशिलाफलकम् ।
हृतमत्सरः कृतविनीतवपुर्मघवा जिधाय तमघौघभिदे ॥१॥

ददृशे सहस्रनयनेन हरिः स्मरसुन्दरः स्मितमनोज्ञमुखः ।
द्रुतमत्तकुञ्जरघटोऽपभयः प्रसरन्महा इव मृगेन्द्रशिशुः ॥२॥

ज्वलितैर्विमानपटलैः सहसा महसा महेन्द्रमनु यानजुषाम् ।
प्रचलैरिवोडुनिकरैर्द्युसदां सुरवर्त्म सङ्कटमभूदभितः ॥३॥

वदनैः स्फुरद्दशनदीधितिभिः किरणैश्च भूषणमणिप्रभवैः ।
खचितान्तरालमलमप्सरसां गगनं महोमयमिव व्यरुचत् ॥४॥

अथ वृष्टयः सुमनसामुपरि व्रजवल्लभस्य शिशुरूप[illegible]षः ।
विशदा दिवः (सुरतरुप्रभवाः) सुरनाथकीर्तय इवाभ्यपतन् ॥५॥

निचितं समीक्ष्य हरिधाम भयस्थगितैस्तदा तदनुयायिबलैः ।
अविभाव्य मारुतविलोलपटैः सहशालभञ्जिकमिवाभ्रमभूत् ॥६॥

पुरतः क्षितावुदयमानममुं विधुमेक्ष्य बोधितसुहृत्कुमुदम् ।
विनमत्सहस्रनयनाम्बुरुहः स ललज्ज शक्रजलधिः प्रसभम् ॥७॥

द्विरदं विदूरमपहाय हरिं प्रणनाम दण्डवदखण्डरुचिम् ।
भयकम्पिताञ्जलिपुटं महसा शतमन्युरन्य इव धूतमहाः ॥८॥

अमुमस्तवीच्च जगदादिभवं भयगदाक्षरनि (बन्धमिति) ।
जयशब्दपूर्वमपराधहृतौ प्रथितः प्रभुर्हि विनतार्तिहरः ।।९।।

जनये रजोमयमजं जगतः स्थितयेऽस्य सत्त्वमथ विष्णुमयम् ।
हृतये तमोमयमुशन्ति हरं निजयेच्छया त्रिविधमेकमपि ।।१०।।

अपि ते निरञ्जनमजाञ्जनभं गुणदीर्घमप्यगुणवृत्तिपरम् ।
भवबीजमप्यभवबीजमलं प्रदिशन्ति रूपमिति वेदगिरः ।।११।।

पृथिवी जलं परमधाम मरुद् गगनं गुणास्त्वदिति भूतमयम् ।
उदितं समस्तमपि चास्तमितं त्वदृते न किञ्चिदखिलेश नमः ।।१२।।

भ्रमतः सहस्त्रनयनान्धतया भगवन्तमाकलयो मनुजम् ।
मदमार्ज्जनाञ्जनमलम्भि यतः परमार्थतस्तु तदनुग्रहणम् ।।१३।।

प्रभवन्नतिक्रमभवाधिकरं शमयेर्गवामिव ममापि भयम् ।
विमलो हि तत्त्वमयबोधमयः क्व भवानहं मदमूढमतिः ।।१४।।

उदयं लयश्च ननु मत्सदृशा इह बुद्बुदा इव जले जिहते ।
भगवान् महोदधिरिवावसिति सम्पैति नैव परमार्थतया ।।१५।।

विकृतिव्रजैः खलु न विक्रियसे तमसो गुणैश्च न हि संस्क्रियसे ।
रजसां चयैरपि च लोहमलैः प्रतिबिम्ब ईशमुकुरस्य इव ।।१६।।

तमभिष्टुवन्तमिति वीक्ष्य पुरः प्रणमन्तमाकुलमपि प्रसभम् ।
निजभक्तवत्सलतया विदितः परिषस्वजे हरिरुदारमनाः ।।१७।।

मघवाज्ञया कनकभक्तिमयैर्ज्वलितेव रत्नभवनैरभितः ।
भुवमाश्रिता सपदि दिव्यसभा शतयोजनायतवपुः शुशुभे ।।१८।।

अथ तावभिन्नवपुषावमरौ कनकासनं युगपदाश्रयताम् ।
परिकीर्णशीर्णसलिलप्रसरौ कनकाद्रिशृङ्गमिव वारिधरौ ॥१९॥

सपदि प्रसाद्य जगदादिगुरुर्विबुधैः समं कृतजयध्वनिभिः ।
विबुधेश्वरेण विहिताञ्जलिना पुनरभ्यधायि वचनं स इति ॥२०॥

अभिधां गवादिमथ विन्द इति समुपेयुषस्तव गवामवनात् ।
अनुभूय दिव्यमभिषेकममुं प्रथिमानमेतु भुवनेषु यशः ॥२१॥

अभिधाय वाचमिति दिव्यघटा.............................. ।
भगवानथासनगतः सुमना जगृहेऽभिषेकमधिराज्यमिव ॥२२॥

वदनान्यवाञ्चि दधतो गगने कलशा इवाम्बुनिधयः सलिलैः ।
स्नपयाम्बभूवुरधिगन्धभृतस्तमनन्तमद्रिमिव वारिमुचः ॥२३॥

चतुराननैः प्रथममब्जभवः पुलहादिकांस्तदनु मन्त्रगणान् ।
पृथुमङ्गले त्रिजगतां प्रथमे समधीयते स्म ऋषयोऽभिषवे ॥२४॥

पठतामुदारमभिषेकपदान्युदयं दिशन्ति किल मन्त्रकृताम् ।
प्रतिशाखमुच्चतरघोषचयो दिवमस्पृशत् सुरजयध्वनिभिः ॥२५॥

कलशाभिषेचनकृतावभृथं गिरियज्ञदीक्षितममुं परितः ।
जलविप्रुषः शममघं जगतां (?) शतशः स्फुरन्त्य उपनिन्युरलम् ॥२६॥

त्रिदिवेशतुङ्गवलभीर्दधतः प्रतिशब्दसङ्गमुखराः परितः ।
परमेष्ठिधिष्ण्यमपि मेघरवाः समदिध्वनन्नमरदुन्दुभयः ॥२७॥

समवाद्यताद्य महवाद्यघटा भुवि वादकैश्च घनघर्घरिता ।
ननृतुश्च नर्तकगणाः सलयं परमोत्सवैः पुलकिताङ्गलताः ॥२८॥

गलतीरमंसत न पट्टपटीः स्तनसङ्गिनीश्च पृथुहारलताः ।
तरुणीगणाः क्षणमपादधतस्तरुणैर्मदादिव महादवशैः ॥२९॥

हरितः प्रसेदुरिह कृष्णमहे सरितश्च फुल्लकमलाः परितः ।
ववृषुः प्रसूनचयमम्बुमुचः स्वयमज्ज्वलन् हुतभुजः कृतिनाम् ॥३०॥

विबुधैः समेत्य सुरनाथकृतं कलशाभिषेकमधिगम्य महः ।
जगतामधीशितुरमुष्य हरेर्विपुलामिरम्मद इवाप रुचिम् ॥३१॥

प्रभया ज्वलद्विविधरत्नभुवा मुकुटं हिरण्मयमुदग्रमथो ।
शिरसा दधत् स हरिसङ्गमितं विरराज विन्ध्य इव तिग्मरुचिम् ॥३२॥

मणिकुण्डले समकरद्युतिनी अरुणच्छविच्छुरितगण्डयुगे ।
युगसन्ध्ययोरुदयमेकपदे दधदुष्णवासर इवोदलसत् ॥३३॥

समदीपि हारलतया हृदये प्रतिसंश्रितेऽविरतमिन्दिरया ।
सुरभूर्वलक्षगुणसङ्गतया स समज्ञयेव विजितस्य हरेः ॥३४॥

कटकद्वयेन कुरुविन्दयुजा भुजयोर्महारजतजेन युगम् ।
बहिरुद्गतेन परिपूर्य तनुं निजतेजसेव समदीपि विभोः ॥३५॥

घुसृणावसिक्त हरिचन्दनजं दधदङ्गरागमरुगन्धमसौ ।
यमुनाप्रवाह इव संशुशुभे कमलव्रजोदितरजोऽरुणितः ॥३६॥

दहनोज्ज्वलत्कनकपिङ्गरुचिस्फुरितं दुकूलयुगमुद्वहता ।
परिदिद्युते सपदि तेन समं प्रभुणा क्षणद्युतिभृताम्बुभृता ॥३७॥

मणिचक्रवालरुचिविस्फुरितं प्रसभोज्ज्वलत्कनकभक्तिमयम् ।
कलकिङ्किणीकलकलैः कलितं प्रबबन्ध चारुकटिसूत्रमसौ ॥३८॥

तिलकं त्रिलोकतिलकस्यहरेरधि भालमालिखितमालसतम् ।
अधिलोकसम्पदनुबन्धकरं जयदस्य मूर्तमिव भाग्यपदम् ।।३९।।

मणिदर्पणे हिमरुचीव शुचौ निजमण्डनश्रियमतिद्युसदम् ।
परिसिस्मिये स परिवीक्ष्य विभुर्जगदाश्रयस्य खलु चित्रमदः ।।४०।।

समवाप्य सम्प्रति महेन्द्रकृतां प्रतिपत्तिमित्यभिबवावसितौ ।
स उपेन्द्र उल्लसितदिव्यवपू रुरुचे रुचा शुचिमिवोष्णरुचिः ।।४१।।

अधिशय्य तामथ महेन्द्रसभां स महार्हमासनमधिष्ठितवान् ।
मणिभित्तिषु स्फुरितबिम्बवशादभि विश्वरूपमिव संविविदे ।।४२।।

अभितो जयन्त उरुहर्षवशात् त्रिदिवेश्वरश्च(?)जयपूर्वममुम् ।
उरुचामरे कमलकन्दरुची कुसुमायुधच्छविमुदक्षिपताम् ।।४३।।

कमलासनप्रभृतयस्त्रिदशास्तमभिप्रणेमुरखिलेशमथो ।
मुकुटोपलद्युतिभिरास्तरणैः परिसंस्कृतामिव महीं दधतः ।।४४।।

अथ सात्त्विकं तदनु वार्चानिकं दधुराङ्गिकञ्च सरसाभिनयम् ।
क्षणमुर्वशीप्रभृतयोऽप्सरसः स्मरविक्रियां प्रकटयन्त्य इति ।।४५।।

लिखितेव काचिदवशा विबभौ सरसाङ्गयष्टिरितरा तरुणी ।
पुलकैः कदम्बलतिकेव परा प्रकृतार्द्धगीतिरितरा व्यरमत् ।।४६।।

पृथुवेपथुर्हिमयुतेव परा शुशुभे परा शशिकलेव दिवा ।
अभिखण्डितेव रुरुदेऽथ परा चकितालि कापि विमुमोह तनुः ।।४७।।

इति रामणीयकगुणेन विभुः सुरसुभ्रुवामहरत प्रकरम् ।
उदितः कलाभिरिव षोडशभिर्विमलश्चकोरचयमृक्षपतिः ।।४८।।

इति लोकविस्मयकरं सुतरां प्रकटय्य वैभवमनन्यभवम् ।
अनुजज्ञिवान् निजपदाय हरिं करुणार्द्रमूर्तिरभवत्सुमनाः ॥४९॥

अथ सुरपतिर्गोपानुच्चैर्महार्हपरिच्छदैः
सपदि विविधैः सम्पूज्यैतानुपोढमहोत्सवान् ।
सह सुरगणैः प्रेमोत्फुल्लैः प्रणम्य च तं मुहु-
र्मुदितहृदयः श्रीमानायान्निजं पदमुच्चकैः ॥५०॥

आनन्दफुल्लनयनैः स समेत्य गोपैर्गोविन्द इत्यभिधया परिवर्द्धितश्रीः ।
नीराजनाभिरपि घोषवधूजनानां विद्युद्भिरम्बुद इवातिशयं विरेजे ॥५१॥

श्रीमान् सपर्यामिति संविधाय गोवर्द्धनाद्रेः शुभकीर्तिनोऽसौ ।
सार्द्धं व्रजेन व्रजपालवर्यो व्रजं प्रतीयाय पुनः प्रतीतः ॥५२॥

इति श्रीगोवर्द्धने महाकाव्ये शुभाङ्के श्रीमद्गुरुधरणीधरचरणाम्बुजमकरन्द-रसिकश्रीजगन्नाथकविकृते गोविन्दाभिषेकोत्सवनामा षष्ठः सर्गः ॥ शुभं भूयात् ।

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शोधशोभाशतकम्

●●

रचयिता

डॉ० शिवदत्त शर्मा चतुर्वेदः
काशीस्थहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालये
संस्कृतविद्या-धर्मविज्ञान-संकायान्तर्वर्तिसाहित्यविभागे
प्रवाचकः

★

गंगानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठम्, प्रयागः

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शोधशोभाशतकम्

परमनिगूढं तत्त्वं स्पष्टं कुरुते परैर्यत्नैः ।
कालात् पुरातनादेवाऽऽचार्यैरादृतः शोधः ॥१॥

टीकाभाष्यविरचनेष्वाचार्यैर्यः समादृतः पूर्वम् ।
शब्देष्वर्थेष्वपि वा सर्वैरावश्यकः शोधः ॥२॥

वाग्व्यवहारवशीकृतलोकत्रयसंविधानानाम् ।
कविवर्याणां रचनावलिमध्ये दीप्यते शोधः ॥३॥

मलिनेऽस्मिन् परिवेशे निस्तेजं जायते ज्योतिः ।
मालिन्यमपाकर्तुं विज्ञैराराध्यते शोधः ॥४॥

वैज्ञानिकविद्यानां यन्त्राधारे प्रवर्तमानानाम् ।
नाना-पदार्थ-रचना-रहस्यमुद्भावयति शोधः ॥५॥

अनुभवसंवलितानां शुभ्रसफलताविवरणानाम् ।
मार्गोद्घाटननिपुणो विश्वेऽस्मिन् राजते शोधः ॥६॥

विस्मारयति नितान्तं परिवेशं सेवमानोऽसौ ।
जीवन-नव-साफल्यं करतलगतमादिशति शोधः ॥७॥

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शोधशोभाशतकम्

परमनिगूढं तत्त्वं स्पष्टं कुरुते परैर्यत्नैः ।
कालात् पुरातनाद्वाऽचार्यैराहृतः शोधः ॥१॥

टीकाभाष्यविरचनेष्वाचार्यैर्यः समादृतः पूर्वम् ।
शब्देष्वर्थेष्वपि वा सर्वैरावश्यकः शोधः ॥२॥

वाग्व्यवहारवशीकृतलोकत्रयसंविधानानाम् ।
कविवर्याणां रचनावलिमध्ये दीप्यते शोधः ॥३॥

मलिनेऽस्मिन् परिवेशे निस्तेजं जायते ज्योतिः ।
मालिन्यमपाकर्तुं विज्ञैराराध्यते शोधः ॥४॥

वैज्ञानिकविद्यानां यन्त्राधारे प्रवर्तमानानाम् ।
नाना-पदार्थ-रचना-रहस्यमुद्भावयति शोधः ॥५॥

अनुभवसंवलितानां शुभ्रसफलताविवरणानाम् ।
मार्गोद्घाटननिपुणो विश्वस्मिन् राजते शोधः ॥६॥

विस्मारयति नितान्तं परिवेशं सेवमानोऽसौ ।
जीवन-नव-साफल्यं करतलगतमादिशति शोधः ॥७॥

मानवसमाजमध्ये विद्यन्ते ये चमत्काराः ।
सर्वेषामपि तेषां नूनं निष्पादकः शोधः ॥८॥

कालान्धकारपटलीतिरोहितं यद् विनिर्मलं सत्यम् ।
तत्रापीङ्गितकरणे सामर्थ्यं धारयति शोधः ॥९॥

लघुतममपि वा विषयं क्रोडीकृत्य प्रवर्तमानोऽसौ ।
सुरसामुखस्थमारुतिसादृश्यं धारयति शोधः ॥१०॥

शल्यक्रियासु निपुणो द्राक्कर इव छेदयति सर्वम् ।
सर्वं पृथक् पृथक् संस्कुरुते सम्यक् प्रभावितः शोधः ॥११॥

कारणशून्यानां यो विश्वासानां विलोपको नितराम् ।
आन्ध्यावृतं समाजं प्रकाशपुञ्जं निदेशयति शोधः ॥१२॥

अद्यावधि यदकाट्यं यं प्रतिष्ठितं सिद्धवद् बुद्धौ ।
छेदयते तत्सर्वं सन्देहोद्भावकः शोधः ॥१३॥

यः स्वीकृतैः प्रमाणैः परतन्त्रश्चिरनवीनत्वम् ।
प्राचामाचामयते कायाकल्प-प्रवर्तकः शोधः ॥१४॥

समुपेक्षितागर्ते निपतितमपि यः पदार्थजातं तम् ।
अहमहमिकया दृश्यं संग्राह्यं चादिशति शोधः ॥१५॥

प्रतिभाप्रकर्षलसितो नाना संसाधनैर्दीप्तः ।
विज्ञसमाजसमर्पितसंचारो दीप्यते शोधः ॥१६॥

संपूर्णं जीवनमपि यो लघुतमतां समानयति ।
शेषयति कर्म निखिलं पर्यन्ते वीक्षितः शोधः ॥१७॥

नैवादिर्नैवाऽन्तो नो वा मध्योऽस्य निगदितुं शक्यः ।
सर्वानपि सिद्धान्तान् पूर्वे पक्षे विधारयति शोधः ॥१८॥

सर्वेषां विषयाणां सर्वेषां वा पदार्थानाम् ।
क्रोडीकरणसमर्थः शोध्यं सर्वं समादिशति शोधः ॥१९॥

ग्रन्थेषु बृहत्कायेष्वथ लघुकायेषु लेखेषु ।
परिचर्चासु च पत्रेष्वलं विकासं गतः शोधः ॥२०॥

स्नातकतासम्प्राप्तावप्यध्येतुं यदादरो जातः ।
नूनं तदैव लभ्यः सर्वोच्चोपाधिसंगतः शोधः ॥२१॥

पारे समुद्रमपि यः सम्प्रेषणदक्षतां भजते ।
सर्वविधं व्ययदानं समादिशति सत्वरं शोधः ॥२२॥

बह्वायासे जाते सर्वं व्यर्थं यदा भवति ।
जलताडनवन्निखिलं श्रमं सुदूरं क्षिपति शोधः ॥२३॥

चेतस्तोषकरीं यो विद्यां सर्वं समाह्वयते ।
विदुषश्चान्यानखिलान् प्रसादयति सात्विकः शोधः ॥२४॥

आयासेन सुबहुना स्तोकं फलमेव योऽर्पयते ।
अङ्गुलिगणनीयानां मननीयो राजसः शोधः ॥२५॥

वागाडम्बरपूर्णोऽत्यल्पो नैवाऽथ तोषितः स्वान्तः ।
तुन्दिलतायां हृष्टः स्वीकार्यस्तामसः शोधः ॥२६॥

विश्वस्मिन् शिक्षायै याः संस्थाः सन्ति सुप्रथिताः ।
तासां शिरोमणित्वे लसतितमां दीपितः शोधः ॥२७॥

ज्ञानप्रकाशपूर्णान् विदुषो भन्यांस्तु यः कुरुते ।
सर्वसमीहितचरणान् वैदुष्य-व्यापकः शोधः ॥२८॥

पूर्व-पुरुष-भणितीनां सारं तत्त्वं विबोधयते ।
पोषयति चान्य-निकषे निष्कर्षैर्भूषितः शोधः ॥२९॥

प्राचीनाक्षर-माला-जालावलि-मध्य-पतितोऽयम् ।
निष्कर्ष-लम्बायित-विलम्बमुपयाति किं शोधः ॥३०॥

एकाग्रामथ चेतो वृत्तिं योऽसौ समाधिपरिजुष्टाम् ।
प्रदद्यातीष्टफलाशा परिपूर्णां मानसे शोधः ॥३१॥

यस्मिन् यस्मिश्चेतसि स्वीयं स्थानं निभालयति ।
तदलौकिकत्व-भावे संप्रेषयते स्वयं शोधः ॥३२॥

ग्रन्थिविभेदनकुतुकी तर्कान्वितसत्प्रमाणपरिपूर्णः ।
विपरीत-तर्क-धर्षण-परिपुष्टो राजते शोधः ॥३३॥

विदुषामप्येकेषां कूपे मण्डूकतामथ ताम ।
सद्यो दूरीकुरुते तान् सर्वत्र प्रचालयन् शोधः ॥३४॥

अङ्गीकरोति किञ्चित् दूरीकुरुते तथा किञ्चित् ।
किञ्चित् किञ्चिच्चिन्वन् संपूर्णो जायते शोधः ॥३५॥

ये वा भाव-विचारा नव्या इति निश्चयो जातः ।
ते तस्मादपि पूर्वं प्रकटा इति दर्शयति शोधः ॥३६॥

नूतनतमकमनीये रूपे यस्तोषको भवति ।
पुष्ट-निदेशकदिष्टः स्वीयं लास्यं विलासयति शोधः ॥३७॥

नानाकार-विकार-प्रकार-संचार-माधुरीरम्यः ।
अल्पज्ञानपि विदुषः पूर्णप्रज्ञान सुघोषयति शोधः ॥३८॥

यो विज्ञानां व्यूहे तडिदिव रोमांचमातनुते ।
स्वल्पाक्षरैर्वचोभिस्तस्माद् रोमांचकः शोधः ॥३९॥

भूगर्भेऽयं गच्छति भूतं कालं परामृशति ।
भूतानामपि शुद्धिं करोति करुणामयः शोधः ॥४०॥

कीलयति सर्ववाचं वाक्कीलेषु प्रचारमायातः ।
विज्ञानपि मूर्छयते प्रत्यक्षैरागमैः शोधः ॥४१॥

राज्ञां पुरातनानां हर्म्याणां यः परीक्षणं कुरुते ।
शस्त्राणां पात्राणां वस्त्राणां वीक्षकः शोधः ॥४२॥

सर्वं यत्र स्पष्टं सुनिश्चिततत्त्वं मतं यत्र ।
सन्देहैर्मन्देहांस्तर्कांस्तत्र प्रवेशयति शोधः ॥४३॥

सर्वविधश्रमविवशैर्व्यापारैर्यो वशीकृतो विषयः ।
पौनःपुन्यभृशार्थं तत्राऽविर्भावयति शोधः ॥४४॥

सन्मस्तिष्कान्तर्गत-शिरावलीर्झंकृताः कुरुते ।
शयनासनादिलोपं सन्तनुते चिन्तितः शोधः ॥४५॥

शतशतपुस्तकमध्ये सततं दत्तावधानोऽयम् ।
ज्ञाननदीनवधाराप्रवर्तने संगतः शोधः ॥४६॥

नानाऽतानवितानैः समावृतो ज्ञानतन्तूनाम् ।
दृष्टिं कामपि शिष्टां विशिष्टरूपां प्रवर्तयति शोधः ॥४७॥

एकस्या अपि पंक्तेर्विवेचने सादरं लग्नः ।
वर्षाण्यतिवाहते काले कलनां करोत्यसौ शोधः ॥४८॥

सर्वां किल व्यवस्थामामूलाद् यः समापयते ।
नव्यां निजां व्यवस्थां विदधात्यायातितः शोधः ॥४९॥

सर्वं व्यवस्थितमिदं सर्वं सर्वत्र संपूर्णम् ।
सर्वात्सर्वसमुदये सर्वां दृष्टिं समर्पयति शोधः ॥५०॥

अपि वा सुदूर-देश-स्थितसामग्रीसमाकलने ।
धावति सादृश्ये वा संमतिमुद्रान्वितः शोधः ॥५१॥

यद् यद् विशृंखलं तत् सर्वं सशृंखलं कुरुते ।
एकस्मिन् सर्वेषां समन्वयं सन्दिशति शोधः ॥५२॥

सृष्टौ सर्वं भरितं नवता नास्तीह कुत्रापि ।
ज्ञाने लाभस्तेषां, तस्मिन्कार्ये रतः शोधः ॥५३॥

वाक्यानां शब्दानां मात्राणां मातृकाणाञ्च ।
वीथीषु विभ्रमेषु भ्रमणं कुरुते स्वयं शोधः ॥५४॥

त्रैमासिकार्ध-वार्षिक-वार्षिक-पत्राणि चालयते ।
अनियतकालानामपि पत्राणां सम्प्रवर्तकः शोधः ॥५५॥

शोधार्थि-छात्रनिवहैष्वासादितवैभवः सोयऽम् ।
तेषामथवा तासां वृत्तीनां वर्षकः शोधः ॥५६॥

हर्षादुच्छालयते क्षणमात्रेणैव मोहितांश्छात्रान् ।
पंजीयनविनिबद्धानद्यत्वे स्वीकृतः शोधः ॥५७॥
विश्व-विभिन्न-विभाग-व्यक्ति-व्यक्तिपृथग्भूतः ।
ऐश्यं तेषां तनुते विस्तारित वैभवः शोधः ॥५८॥

नमयति यो निजरूपे सर्वेषां मस्तकानि भूयांसि ।
सर्वेषां सन्देशान् संशृणुतेऽयं समादृतः शोधः ॥५९॥

आक्रामकरूपाणामपि नित्यं सर्जनं कुरुते ।
सर्वस्वार्जनमथवा केषांचित् कल्पयति शोधः ॥६०॥

सांसारिकभोगानामपि संयोगं समादिशति ।
सर्वाश्चर्यमयीमथमुद्रां तां तां दिशति शोधः ॥६१॥

सर्वं निभाल्यमानं यत्कृपया भाति विनिगूढम् ।
सर्वं रहस्यपूर्णं मत्वा संशोभते शोधः ॥६२॥

कस्या अपि वार्तायाः समुद्भवः कुत्र संजातः ।
सत्याऽस्ति काऽथ वार्ता सत्यं सर्वं विशोधयति शोधः ॥६३॥

नवनिर्माणे किं किं पुरातनं सत्यमायातम् ।
कस्मिन् रूपे प्रकटं तत्सर्वं शोधयति शोधः ॥६४॥

प्रकटे विरूपभावे सौन्दर्यं यो विलोकयति ।
सर्वं सुन्दररूपं नीरूपं वा समादिशति शोधः ॥६५॥

रम्याञ्चितसत्पीठे निर्देशकवर्यसंगतः सोऽयम् ।
विभुतामयतां स्वीयां वैभवयुक्तां विभावयति शोधः ॥६६॥

परिपठन मनन-चिन्तन-लेखन-रूपेषु संलग्नः ।
त्यक्तान्यसर्वविषयः परिपूर्णः शोभते शोधः ॥६७॥

आदौ सूक्ष्मः क्रमशो विपुले रूपे प्रकाशमायातः ।
पर्यन्ते पुनरपि तत् सूक्ष्मं रूपं प्रकाशयति शोधः ॥६८॥

नानापाण्डुलिपीनां परिग्रहे जागरूकोऽयम् ।
तासां छायाचित्राण्यद्यत्वे संश्रयति शोधः ॥६९॥

मायाविनां समस्तां मायां सद्यः समापयति ।
वागाडम्बरपूर्णां विज्ञैर्विज्ञापितः शोधः ॥७०॥

अङ्गीकृतविषयाणां यद् दारिद्र्यं समुल्लसति ।
पूर्वोत्तरपक्षाभ्यां तद्वै सर्वं विलोपयति शोधः ॥७१॥

पाण्डुलिपीनां प्रथने नानाविधपाठभेदे च ।
पूर्णप्रज्ञ पुरातनपुरुषाणां देशिकः शोधः ॥७२॥

योऽसौ श्रुतिस्मृतीनां नानाविधसत्पुराणानाम् ।
इतिहासानां निर्णयकरणेऽविचलो विलोक्यते शोधः ॥७३॥

हर्षाणां यो वर्षा इव कुरुते विज्ञवर्याणाम् ।
चेतस्सु सर्वसुषमासौभाग्यैः संभृतः शोधः ॥७४॥

संमति-विमति-विभागैर्निष्कर्षे भिन्नतां यातः ।
परिषत्प्रगुणितरूपे निष्कर्षं संप्रतीक्षते शोधः ॥७५॥

नानायन्त्रपरीक्षितवस्तूनां गुणगणनिकायाम् ।
नव्यानां वस्तूनां निर्माणेऽन्वातरत् शोधः ॥७६॥

सत्यान्वेषणकार्ये सर्वसमर्पितसुपरिवेशः ।
सन्देहं भ्रान्तिं वा मिथ्यात्वं वा विदूरयति शोधः ॥७७॥

सिद्धान्त-व्याख्यानैरेवाऽयं नास्ति संतुष्टः ।
पूर्णप्रमाणपुष्टैस्तैः संतुष्टो भवति शोधः ॥७८॥

मूर्तीनां पात्राणां धातूनां च प्रणालीनाम् ।
प्रोत्खनने मिलितानां सुस्वागतमादिशति शोधः ॥७९॥

भित्तीनां कासांचिद् केषांचिद् भित्तिचित्राणाम् ।
शस्त्राणां मुद्राणां परीक्षणे प्रोद्यतः शोधः ॥८०॥

व्यर्थं किमपि न मनुते बह्वल्पं सर्वमाद्रियते ।
कोणे प्रतिष्ठितं यत् तत् संमुखमाधरति शोधः ॥८१॥

अज्ञातालपज्ञातप्रथाप्रवाहे निपतितानाम् ।
रचयितॄणां विषये पूर्णं श्रममादिशति शोधः ॥८२॥

राज्ञां पुरातनानामितिवृत्तं यो निभालयते ।
सामाजिकसंरचनाविकासमालोचयति शोधः ॥८३॥

आपाततः सुमधुराकृतिभिर्नीराजमानानाम् ।
घटनानामपि मध्ये विषबीजं दर्शयति शोधः ॥८४॥

शतशतसंस्थामध्ये शुभ्रोदयवीक्षितस्वान्तः ।
नैकसहस्रजनानां वृत्तिं स्वेष्टां सुचालयति शोधः ॥८५॥

नानानवपत्राणां प्रकाशने शूरतां यातः ।
सम्पादनचातुर्यं नूतनमुद्भावयति शोधः ॥८६॥

नूतननियुक्तिकाले प्राध्यापकपदाभिलाषिवर्गस्य ।
स्वीयोपाध्यनिवार्यग्रहणेच्छां दर्शयति शोधः ॥८७॥

नानाविधाऽनिवार्यैर्नियमैर्नियमितशरीरोऽयम ।
नानादोषच्छिद्रानप्ययत्वे विधारयति शोधः ॥८८॥

नानाविधसंभावितविघ्नग्रहणे भुजागरूकाणाम् ।
शोधार्थिनां प्रतिष्ठामथ बुद्धिं लोपयति शोधः ॥८९॥

निर्देशकवर्याणां मानविवृद्धिं परां तनुते ।
केषांचित् पुनरेषामपमानान्यपि समीहते शोधः ॥९०॥

शोधे सर्वं शुद्धं यद्यन्निर्देशकेन संदिष्टम् ।
अस्वीकृते निबन्धे निर्देशकदैन्यमावहति शोधः ॥९१॥

संगोष्ठीवेलायां शोधार्थिनमर्थसद्व्ययं कर्तुम् ।
गोष्ठीनिविष्टसज्जनजलपानादीन्निदेशयति शोधः ॥९२॥

अन्यैर्लिखितं तदिदं चान्यैः संशोधितं सम्यक् ।
अतिरिक्तद्रव्यलाभे विदुषोऽपि प्रेरयति शोधः ॥९३॥

अस्तव्यस्तदशायां कैश्चित् संप्राप्यमाणोऽपि ।
केषांचित्तु परेषां परिनिष्ठितभक्तिमीक्षते शोधः ॥९४॥

यैरध्यापकवर्यैः पाठनकार्ये परिश्रमो विहितः ।
शोधेऽनादरयुक्तास्तदुन्नतिं रोधयति शोधः ॥९५॥

रूपाणां बाहुल्ये पुरातनानां नवीनत्वम् ।
स्फूर्तिप्रदत्वमेषां सम्पादयतीह सत्वरं शोधः ॥९६॥

भूयो नवप्रबन्धैः शोधोत्तरशोधमाभरितः ।
प्रतिशोधशोधपूर्णैर्निजसीमावर्धकः शोधः ॥९७॥

सर्वासां भाषाणां साहित्ये भाषमाणानाम् ।
नैकट्यं वर्धयितुं साहित्यं शोधयति शोधः ॥९८॥

केन्द्रीयात्प्रान्तीयात् शासनचक्रात् सुपुष्टिमायातः ।
पोषणमखिलं यच्छति शिष्येभ्यः स्वीकृतः शोधः ॥९९॥

प्राचीनां परिपाटीं नवनवरचनासु जागृतां कुर्वन् ।
सत्प्रेरणां प्रयच्छति निर्माणेऽङ्गीकृतः शोधः ॥१००॥

शोधशतकसम्पूजितविभवो नीराजमानोऽयम् ।
शिवदत्तेन कथंचिद् संवर्णित एव दृश्यते शोधः ॥१०१॥

युतकयाचनम्

(एकाङ्किरूपकम्)

●●

रचयिता

श्री हीरालाल पाण्डेयः

सहित्यविभागाध्यक्षः

श्री महानिर्वाणवेदविद्यालयः

दारागंज, प्रयागः

गंगानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठम्, प्रयागः

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Allahabad

विषमयं विषमं विषयान्वितम्,

युतकयाचनमित्यवधारयन् ।

भवति कोऽपि जनो विरतस्ततः,

कविरयं सफलो विगतश्रमः ॥

युतक-याचनम्

—: पात्राणि :—

सूत्रधारः	
मङ्गतरामः श्रेष्ठी	वरपिता
मीरा	वरमाता
आशिषकुमारः	वरः
कन्यापालः	कन्या-पिता
दैवज्ञः	
चिकित्सकः	

॥ युतक-याचनम् ॥

(एकाङ्किरूपकम्)

नान्दी—(समूहगीतिः)

गणानामधीशं गणेशं नमामः,

गणेशं गणेशं गणेशं भजामः ॥

गजास्योऽपि नूनं

सुमुखस्त्वमेव,

गजकर्णसंज्ञोऽपि,

हेरम्ब देवः

लम्बोदरं त्वाम्,

प्रथमं स्मरामः ॥गणेशम्०॥

भालेन्दुविन्दो,

विघ्नेशविघ्नान्,

संयम्य भगवन्,

पालय त्वमस्मान् ।

महादेवमान्यम्,

नियतं जपामः ॥गणेशम्० ॥

वेदेऽथ लोके.

महिमा त्वदीयः ।

प्राथम्यदाने
योगो यदीयः ।
सिद्धिप्रदम् त्वाम्,
सततं यजामः ।।गणेशम्० ।।

(नान्द्यन्ते प्रविशति सूत्रधारः)

सूत्रधारः—

रम्या रमा रामसमाश्रिता सा,
सिन्दूरपूरै रचितां सचित्राम् ।
सीमन्तसीमां नयनाभिरामाम्,
सन्धारयन्ती भवतान्मुदे वः ।।१।।

अपि च—

तपस्ययाऽहं निजजीवनाथम्,
प्राप्स्यामि नूनं नहि तात ! चिन्ता ।
त्वया विधेयेति वचो निशम्य,
प्रसन्नमूर्त्तिर्जयतात् पिता सः ।।२।।

अपि च—

मायामुदस्य निरवद्य विवेकदीप्त्या,
सानन्दमच्युतपदं नियतं तदाप्तम् ।
स्वात्मानमात्मविभवेन विभावयन्यो,
योगीति गीतचरितो जयतात्स एकः ।।३।।

सूत्रधारः—

अथ भवतां श्रीमतां मनोविनोदाय श्रीमहानिर्वाणवेदविद्यालयस्य, दारागंज—प्रयागस्य साहित्यविभागाध्यक्षैः श्री हीरालालपाण्डेय-महोदयैर्विरचितं युतक-याचनं नाम रूपकमभिनेयमिति समादिष्टोऽस्मि । तदेवं विज्ञापयामि :

(श्रुतिमभिनीय)

अये ! कुतश्चित् शब्द इव श्रूयते । तन्निरूपयामि तावत् ।

(निरूप्य)

आम्, ज्ञातम्—

श्रेष्ठी मङ्गतरामोऽसौ,
सस्नेहं मृदुलैः स्वरैः ।
तरुणं विनयाढ्यं तम्,
पुत्रं पृच्छति साम्प्रतम् ॥४॥

तत् साधयामि—

(निर्गच्छति)

(ततः प्रविशति श्रेष्ठी मङ्गतरामः)

मङ्गतरामः—वत्स ! वत्स !

(पुत्र आशिषकुमारः प्रविशति)

आशिषकुमारः—पितः ! किमस्ति ?

मङ्गतरामः—पुत्र ! इत आयाहि । किञ्चिन्मन्त्रयितव्यमस्ति ।

आशिषकुमारः—यथा देशः । (मनसि) मया सह किमस्ति मन्त्रयितव्यम् ?

मङ्गतरामः—सूक्तं केनचित्—प्राप्ते तु षोडशे वर्षे पुत्रे मित्रवदाचरेत् । तदिदानीं मे वत्सः—तरुणः, सुशिक्षितः, स्नातकः । अथ च मन्त्रणायाः विषयोऽपि स एव ।

आशिषकुमारः—पितः ! समुपस्थितोऽहम् ।

(मङ्गतरामः पुत्रस्य हस्तं गृहीत्वा)

मङ्गतरामः—वत्स ! समुपविशावस्तावत् ।

(उभावुपविशतः)

आशिषकुमारः—(मनसि) अहो ! अद्य मम पिता वात्सल्यवासितमनाः नितरां स्नेहेन व्याहरति । तत् किमस्ति कारणमेतादृशस्य व्यवहारप्रदर्शनस्य । जीवने प्राथमिकोऽयं वात्सल्यलाभः ।

(प्रकाशम्)

पितः ! को नु खलु नियोगः ?

मङ्गतरामः—वत्स ! श्रूयताम्—अद्य तव मात्रा भृशं बोधितोऽस्मि । सा मामपृच्छत् यत् किं वधूमुखमनवलोक्यैव सा संसारात् प्रस्थिता भविष्यति ? ह्य एव दग्धमुखी सा प्रतिवेशिनीलवमातरं सव्यङ्ग्यमुक्तवती—'अरे ! सुदिष्टात् वधूमुखमवलोक्यते' । तन्नूनं महता पुण्येनैव तद्दिनं भवति ।

तद् वत्स ! प्रतिवेशिन्या कथितेन तव माता समधिकाधिमग्ना । सा मामकथयत्—

सशपथं पतिदेव मदर्थितम्,
श्रुतवता भवता न विधीयते ।
अचिरमेव तदा मम जीवितम्,
विरहितं भवतो भविता ध्रुवम् ॥५॥

आशिषकुमारः—(सलज्जः) भवतु, पितः ! तदत्र न किमपि स्वकीयं करणीयं पश्यामि । तत्साधयामि (यातुमिच्छति) ।

मङ्गतरामः—वत्स ! क्व गम्यते ? स्थितो भव ।

आशिषकुमारः—तथा (उपविशति) ।

मङ्गतरामः—वत्स ! समयस्ते परिणयस्य, तत् कामपि सुशीलां, सुरूपां, सुसम्पन्नां, कन्यां वामाङ्गीं विधातुं स्वीकृत्य यशोभाग्भव । पूरणीयः पित्रोर्मनोभिलाषः ।

आशिषकुमारः—पितः ! कि परिणयेन ? किन्न पश्यति भवान् प्रतिपलं प्रवर्धमानां जनसंख्याम् ?

मङ्गतरामः—वत्स नैवम् । अस्माकं समेषामात्मीयजनानां परमाह्लादाय कर्तव्योऽस्ति त्वया परिणयः । अपि च वत्स ! प्रवर्धमानया जनसंख्यया न दूरादपि कश्चन सम्बन्धोऽस्माकम् ।

आशिषकुमारः—पितः ! अहं तु परिवारकल्याणाय बद्धपरिकरोऽस्मि । मम देशः पूर्वमेव खाद्यावासादिसमस्यया खिन्नः । तन्नाहं स्वात्मजन्मभूमिं तत्समस्यया खेदयिष्ये ।

मङ्गतरामः—(सपरुषम्) वत्स ! तया समस्यया संख्यया वा नास्ति किञ्चिदपि प्रयोजनम् । देशचिन्ता नात्मचिन्तायाः श्रेष्ठा । स्ववंशविस्तार एव कर्तव्यः । तथा चोक्तम् —'उत्पादयेद्बहून् पुत्रानिति ।'

आशिषकुमारः—(मध्य एव) पितः ! अनेनैवादर्शवाक्यपालनसंकल्पेन देशे जनानां संख्या सप्ततिकोटितोप्यधिका । नूनं यथा सस्यमेधते जनः ।

मङ्गतरामः—वत्स ! किं कथयसि ? पश्य, तव परिणयेन विना तव पित्रोर्मनोरथः वन्ध्यभूतोऽस्ति । इदं गृहं शिशु-क्रीडया सुचिरात् वञ्चितमस्ति । समाजेऽवमानं भजामः ।

आशिषकुमारः—पितः ! देशस्य, समाजस्य, आत्मनः, भवतः, मातुः, सर्वस्यापि हितं सुविचार्य परिणयात् विरतोऽस्मि । किन्तु यदि गृहमिदं शिशुक्रीडया वञ्चितमिति खेदः, तदा प्रतिगृहं पार्श्वे एव शिशूनां समवायोऽस्ति आयासं विनैव भवद्गृहं शिशूद्यानं सम्पत्स्यते ।

मङ्गतरामः—(मनसि) भोः, कथमेनं प्रबोधयामि । जीवने न शाश्वतिकं तारुण्यम् । कौमारभावेन कैश्चिदपि तन्न

खेदनीयम् । (प्रकाशम्) वत्स ! किन्न स्मर्यते समावर्तनकालिकमनुशासनम् । यदुक्तम् प्रजातन्त्रं मा व्यवच्छेत्सीरिति ।

आशिषकुमारः—पितः ! तदर्थमेव कथ्यते—न चिन्तयितव्यं तत्र । यदि शिशवोऽपेक्षिताः, तदा देश एव सुलभाः सन्ति । यथाऽपेक्षितमानीय सुखमनुरज्यताम् न तदर्थं पुत्रस्य परिणयभरः वोढव्यः । विना श्रमं पितृमहत्त्वं सम्पद्यते । तच्छ्रमोऽपि नैव कार्यः । तारुण्यमपि चिरस्थायि ।

अन्यच्च, पितः ! अनुशासनिकं प्रजातन्त्रं परिणयेन विनैव पाल्यते नैव व्यवच्छिद्यते ।

मङ्गतरामः—(मनसि) भो, कीदृशोऽयं युगप्रभावः । मम पुत्रो मामेव शिक्षयति, (प्रकाशम्) कथं कथं पाल्यते ? तदपि वक्तव्यम् !

आशिषकुमारः—बाढम्, पितः ! श्रूयताम्, प्रजातन्त्रस्याभिप्रायः—प्रजायाः—तन्त्रम् । अत्र च तन्त्र शब्दः—शासनवाचकः—फलतः—प्रजातन्त्रं, प्रजाशासनम् । तच्च देशस्यास्य सौभाग्यात् स्वतन्त्रतया सहैव सदुपलब्धम् । तथा हि—प्रजा एव प्रशास्ति, प्रशास्यते च अतएव—

गणतन्त्रप्रधानेऽस्मिन्,
भारते, भारते शुभे ।
प्रजायत्तं विधानन्तत्,
दैवायत्तं यथा जगत् ॥६॥

मङ्गतरामः—(मनसि) अहह ! असौ मद्बालकः शिक्षितमूढः । तन्मूढस्तु सुखं बोध्यो भवति । किन्तु शिक्षितमूढो दुर्बोध्य एव । तत्कथमेनं प्रतिबोधयामि । (चिन्तयति)

(ततः प्रविशति सोपनेत्रः गृहीतपञ्चाङ्गः सोष्णीषो दैवज्ञः)

दैवज्ञः—ग्रहाणामावासो विततगगने केन विदितः

जनानां दिष्टेन प्रभवति च तेषां बहुफलम् ।

तदेवं ज्ञाता स्यात्तदपि बहुमानं भजतु माम्,

त्रिकालं प्रत्यक्षं भवति मम विद्या हि सफला ॥७॥

अपि च—

स्कन्धत्रयात्मकं शास्त्रं,

ज्यौतिषं समुपास्य वै ।

फलाफलविवेकेन,

मान्योऽहं विधि तल्लजः ॥८॥

अहो ! पर्यटन् श्रान्तोऽस्मि । तत् क्षणं विरम्य गन्तव्यम् । (उपविशति) मन्ये मद्दिष्टमद्य प्रतिकूलम् । प्रभातात् साम्प्रतं यावत् नोपलब्धः कोऽपि यजमानः । (पञ्चाङ्गमुद्घाटयति) अथवा मुहूर्तं श्रममपनोदयामि ।

(कञ्चुकपार्श्वं स्पृशन्) तमालपत्रकरण्डकं क्वास्ति ?

आम्, अत्रास्ति (निःसार्य) (आलस्येन सुधया तन्मृजति)

(ततः प्रविशति मङ्गतरामस्य पत्नी)

दैवज्ञः—(तां निपुणं दृष्ट्वा) मन्ये, काचिदियं सम्पन्ना तथापि खिन्ना स्त्री । तत्कथमेतां प्रलोभयामि ।

(विचिन्त्य) तदेवम् (करस्थं तमालपत्रमपरेण करेण ताडयति)

मीरा—(विलोक्य) अये ! विलक्षण एवाऽयं कश्चित् । भवतु न परपुरुषो विलोकयितव्यः । (शिरोऽवगुण्ठयति)

दैवज्ञः—देवि ! किञ्चित्प्रष्टव्यमस्ति सुदूरादागतोऽहं भवत्याः कौलीन्यं सम्यग् जानामि । सिद्धादेशिकोऽहम् । भवती मङ्गतरामस्य धर्मपत्नी कच्चित् ?

मीरा—(मनसि) अये ! कथमयं मां जानाति । नूनं विज्ञानसम्पन्नोऽयम् ।

दैवज्ञः—देवि ! कथयतु भवती । यावदहं वेद्मि तावत्तथैव दृढं कथयामि, तन्नैवाश्चर्यम् । दैवज्ञोऽहम् । त्रिकालं प्रत्यक्षं पश्यामि । इदानीं भवती पुत्रोद्वाहमिच्छन्ती नूनं सचिन्ता । श्रेष्ठी मङ्गतरामः पुत्रं परिणयार्थमेव प्रबोधयन्नस्ति ।

मीरा—(मनसि) अहो ! सत्यं, सर्वमेव साक्षात् पश्यति । तत्पुत्रमाह्वयामि । वत्स, वत्स ।

आशिषकुमारः—पितः ! माता मामाह्वयति । तच्छृणोमि तावत् । (मनसि) भवतु कथञ्चिन्मुक्तोऽहम् । (प्रकाशम्) मातः ! किमस्ति ?

(मातुः पार्श्वे गच्छति)

मङ्गतरामः—(सोद्विग्नः) किं कथयामि ! पूर्वन्तु पुत्रस्य परिणयवार्तायै मान्तथा प्रैरयत् । इदानीं यदा तदर्थमेव पुत्रमुपदिशान्नासम् तदा मध्य एव तमाह्वयत् । तत्किं करोमि । भवतु विश्राम्यामि । (तत्रैव शेते)

(पुत्रः आगत्य मातुश्चरणौ प्रणमति)

दैवज्ञः—(दृष्ट्वा) देवि ! नूनं भवती भाग्यवती यस्या एतादृशः सुदिष्टः पुत्रः ।

आशिषकुमारः—मातः ! किमस्ति को नु खलु एषः ।

मीरा—वत्स ! दैवज्ञोऽसौ विधात्रा भाले लिखितामक्षरमालिकां पठति । तद्दूरदेशात्समुपस्थितः किञ्चित् प्रष्टुकामोऽस्ति ।

आशिषकुमारः—महाशय ! कथयतु भवान् ? किमस्ति प्रष्टव्यम् ?

मीरा—(मनसि) वत्स, प्रष्टव्यं खलु मयाप्यस्ति । तत्कथं पृच्छामि (चिन्तयति) ।

दैवज्ञः—वत्स ! श्रूयताम् । तव पिता सम्प्रति तव परिणयार्थं सचिन्तः । तदर्थमेव त्वां प्रबोधयति स्म तत्किं सत्यम् ?

मीरा—(मनसि) मद्हृदयेन मन्त्रयते ।

आशिषकुमारः—भवतु, भवतु । तत्तु पारस्परिकं सम्भाषणं भवता श्रुतं स्यात् । (सक्रोधम्) भोः वैयक्तिकं तत्, तेन किं भवतः । मातः ! इतः सापयावः । व्यर्थमेव मुह्यति भवती ।

मीरा—वत्स ! सम्मान्योऽसौ महानुभावः नूनं पिता तव दैवज्ञ-ममुं साक्षात्कृत्य प्रसादमेष्यति ।

आशिषकुमारः—(परुषम्) मातः ! विंशतिशताब्द्या अन्तेऽपि पाषाण-युगीनो विचारो न मुञ्चति भवतीमिति मे विषादः । प्रच्छन्नेनानेन सर्वं श्रुतं स्यादावयोः सम्भाषणम् ।

मीरा—(मनसि) अभिनवशिक्षादिग्धोऽयं न श्रोष्यति । (प्रकाशम्) वत्स ! गच्छ त्वम् । पितरं प्रेषय ।

आशिषकुमारः—भवतु गच्छामि । (पितुः समीपमागत्य) पितः ! पितः ! अहो ! पिता तु सुखं शेते । तन्नैव प्रत्यवायो भवामि । तद्भ्रमणाय यामि ।

(निर्गच्छति)

मीरा—भगवन् ! दैवज्ञ !

संदिग्धबुद्धिः पुरुषो हि नूनम्,
नारीस्वभावं न समीक्ष्य वादी ।
एवं धिया साधुविचारदक्षाः,
परापवादाद् विरमन्ति नार्यः ॥६॥

तत्पतिदेवमेव पृच्छामि ! क्षणं पालयतु भवान्तदागमनम् ।

(पत्युः समीपमायाति)

दैवज्ञः—शुभमस्तु । जपामि तावद् भगवतीं कुलदेवताम् ।

मीरा—अये ! सुप्तोऽत्र भवान् ! तत्कथमेनं प्रबोधयामि । (चिन्तयति)

मङ्गतरामः—(उत्स्वप्नायते) आह ! किमुच्यते ? अहं युतकविरोधिमञ्चस्य महामन्त्री । मम पुत्रस्य विवाहे वराटिकाऽपि न लप्स्यते । तत्त्वं मूर्खः । लक्षमुद्राः ग्रहीष्ये । लक्षमुद्राः वैधेय ! आदानस्य नैकः प्रकारः । अरे ! अहं तु युतकयाचनस्य यो खलु समाजे प्रकारो विद्यते तस्यैव विरोधी ।

मीरा—(मनसि) अहो । स्वप्नेऽपि पुत्रस्य विवाहे लक्षमुद्रात्मकं युतकं पश्यति । तदर्थमेव चिरयति । साम्प्रतमवगतम् । तत्प्रबोधयाम्येनम् । अथवा कथं सुखं प्रबोध्योऽस्तु । (चिन्तयति) भवतु दृष्टम् । (वीणया सह गायति)

प्रमीले नयनशयनसङ्गिनि ॥

अनवद्यं तत्सुखसौविध्यम्,
सततं योगिजनैरथगम्यम् ।
निमीले ! निमिष पथविहङ्गिनि,
प्रमीले ! नयनशयनसङ्गिनि ॥

मङ्गतरामः—(उद्बुध्य) अहो गीतम् । भाग्यवति ! सुखं प्रबुद्धोऽस्मि ।

मीरा—शोभनम् ! कश्चन दैवज्ञः समुपस्थितोऽस्ति । तद्यदि रोचते भवते, तदा तमविलम्बितेन पश्यतु भवान् ।

मङ्गतरामः—बाढम् । सुदिष्टादेव दैवज्ञः समुपस्थितः । तत्क्वास्ते ? भाग्यवति ! पश्यतु भवती ।

परस्परं सौख्यविवर्धनेन,

दाम्पत्यमर्थं ससुखं भजावः।

मृषाविषादेन किमर्थमेवम्,

वामाङ्ग ! चन्द्रः स्रवदश्रुमग्नः ॥१०॥

मीरा— (प्रसन्नतां नाटयति)

ननु द्वारदेश एव सः।

मङ्गतरामः—भवतु। (गत्वा दैवज्ञं विलोक्य) दैवज्ञ ! प्रणमामि भवन्तम्।

दैवज्ञः—यजमान ! अर्थवान्भव।

मङ्गतरामः—भगवन् दैवज्ञ ! आगम्यताम्। इदमासनम्। आस्यताम्।

दैवज्ञः—एवम्, (उत्थाय तथा करोति)

यजमान ! नूनं सुदिष्टो भवान् !

मङ्गतरामः—(सलज्जः) दैवज्ञ ! भवान् त्रिकालद्रष्टा खलु। तद्भवतां प्रसाद एव।

दैवज्ञः—यजमान ! इह मत्समीप एव उपविशतु भवान्।

(मङ्गतरामः समीपस्थोपविशति)

दैवज्ञः—(मङ्गतरामस्य भालं निरूपयति) अहो ! भालरेखा भवतः कथयति यद् भवन्मनोगतं रहस्यं भवति। आयुष्यं तावत् पूर्णम्। अहो समाजसेवा भवतः कार्यक्षेत्रम् भविष्यति। भवतु, भवतु, हस्तं पश्यामि तावत्।

(मङ्गतरामो हस्तं प्रदर्शयति)

यजमान ! सद्रव्यं भवद्धस्तं दृष्ट्वा जानामि द्रव्यविषयको भवतः प्रश्नः ।

(मङ्गतराम अधोमुखस्तिष्ठति)

दैवज्ञः—यजमान ! तदेषा भाग्यरेखा प्रमाणयति यत् भवान् सत्यं भाग्यभाक् । हृदयरेखा भवन्तं गूढविचारसम्पन्नं प्रतिपादयति विवाहरेखा दाम्पत्यजीवने काञ्चिद् बाधां निरूपयति । भवननिर्माणयोगोप्यस्ति । अहो ! एषा रेखा तु विशिष्टैव । नूनं सुगुप्तं धनमचिरादेव दास्यति । (मीरा प्रविशति)

मीरा—अत्रैव स्थित्वा शृणोमि तावद् दैवज्ञविज्ञापितम् ।

दैवज्ञः—यजमान । मिलिष्यति भवच्चिन्तितं धनम् । किन्तु तद्विषये पत्न्यापि सार्धं न किञ्चित् कथनीयम् ।

मङ्गतरामः—(सोत्कः) दैवज्ञ । भवदादेशः सम्यक् पालयिष्यते । न पत्नीमपि किञ्चित् कथयिष्ये । किन्तु ज्ञातुमिच्छामि कदा तद्धनं प्राप्स्यते ? कथञ्च लप्स्यते ?

दैवज्ञः—भवतु । दिवा निरीक्ष्य वक्तव्यम् । मन्ये भवद्धर्मपत्नी दत्तावधाना समीपस्था सर्वं शृणोति । तत्कर्णे कथयामि ।

मङ्गतरामः—तथास्तु । (दैवज्ञः कर्णे जपति)

मङ्गतरामः—शोभनं, शोभनम् ।

दैवज्ञ ! तदा तु यावज्जीवनमहं भवतः कृतज्ञो भविष्यामि ।

मीराः—अहो ! अयं दैवज्ञः किमपि संगोप्य कथयति । तच्छ्रोतु-मह्मपि नाधिकारिणी ? तन्नूनं मम विषय एव

किञ्चिदमन्त्रितं भविष्यत्यनेन। भवतु नात्र स्थातुमुत्सहे।

दैवज्ञः—यजमान! साधयामि। समये यदा भवान् स्मरिष्यति तदा ध्रुवमागमिष्यामि।

मङ्गतरामः—दैवज्ञो गृह्यतां दक्षिणा।

(दैवज्ञो गृह्णाति)

अवशिष्टा दक्षिणा तदैव प्रदास्यते।

दैवज्ञः—यजमान!

उत्कोचं दक्षिणा चापि,

पारितोषिकसत्क्रिये।

तत्कालं लभतां लभ्यम्,

विलम्बे तद्विलम्बितम् ॥११॥

(निर्गच्छति)

तद् यथादिष्टं लब्धम्। यामि तावत्।

(ततः प्रविशति आशिषकुमारः)

मङ्गतरामः—वत्स! इदानीं मत्कार्यं लघुभूतम्। कश्चन दैवज्ञो मम भाग्यरेखां विचार्य समादिशत्।

आशिषकुमारः—(मनसि) अहो मौग्ध्यम्।

(प्रकाशम्) भवतु, पितः! नाहं दैवज्ञं विश्वसिमि।

मङ्गतरामः—भवतु! त्वम् तु सम्प्रति बालोऽसि। तद्गच्छ मातरं प्रेषय।

(मीरा प्रविशति)

मङ्गतरामः—भाग्यवति ! तव पुत्रस्य विवाहः सम्पन्न एव ।

मीरा—कथं कथं स्पष्टं कथनीयम् ।

मङ्गतरामः—शृणु, दैवज्ञः कमपि कन्यापालनामानं कन्यापितरमचिरमेव प्रेषयिष्यति ।

मीरा—अहो ! नूनं प्रसन्नताविषयोऽयमुदन्तः ।

मङ्गतरामः—भाग्यवति ! स्मर्यते निजोद्वाहः । तदा तु नासीदेतादृशी-महर्घता । किन्तु कृपणस्ते पिता''''न किञ्चिदपि ददौ ।

मीरा—भो ! मम पितरौ क्षिप्येते । तन्नाऽहं श्रोतुमुत्सहे । माम् प्रदाय ताभ्यां सर्वमेव दत्तम् । अथ कुतस्ते धनविषयको व्यामोहः ?

पश्य—

कन्यारत्नं महन्नूनम् ।

नो दुष्यं युतकाचनैः ।

दत्ता कन्या ध्रुवं येन,

नूनं सर्वं तदर्पितम् ॥१२॥

मङ्गतरामः—भाग्यवति ! एतदर्थमेव कथयामि यदज्ञा भवती।। विवाहे मूलस्थानीया रुढिः । सा च—

वित्तेहा सर्वथा कार्या,

पुत्रोद्वाहे विचक्षणैः ।

बिना वित्तं कुलीनत्वम्,

नैव कस्यापि विद्यते ॥१३॥

अपि च—

दरिद्रो धनिको नूनम्,
यस्य पार्श्वे सुतास्तथा ।
धनिकोऽपि दरिद्रः स्यात्
यो भवेत् कन्यका पिता ॥१४॥

तदहं पुत्रस्य पिता न खलु कन्यायाः ।

(नेपथ्ये)

भो ! पृच्छामि भवन्तम्, ननु मङ्गतरामस्य गृहमन्विषामि ।

मङ्गतरामः—भाग्यवति ! कोऽपि मां पृच्छति तत्पश्यामि (किञ्चिद्गत्वा समागतं पुरुषं पृच्छति) भो ! कथयतु भवान् ।

मीरा—मन्ये कन्यापाल एव समुपस्थितः स्यात् । तदाभ्यन्तरमेव गन्तव्यम् (गच्छति)

कन्यापालः—ननु भवान् श्रेष्ठी मङ्गतरामः कच्चित् !

मङ्गतरामः—आम्, आम्, अहमेव मङ्गतरामः, जनाः मामेव श्रेष्ठि-मङ्गतरामनाम्ना सम्बोधयन्ति ।

कन्यापालः—तत्प्रणमामि भवन्तम् । ननु कन्यापालोऽहम् ।

मङ्गतरामः—प्रति प्रणमामि भवन्तम् । आगम्यताम् अत्रास्यताम् ।

(उभावुपविशतः)

कन्यापालः—भगवन्, कुशलमनामयं च पृच्छामि ।

मङ्गतरामः—सर्वमेव भवत्कृपया शोभनमस्ति । विशेषतोऽद्य भवद्दर्शनेन ।

कन्यापालः—दैवज्ञेन विज्ञापितं यत्सम्बन्धाय भवदीयः पुत्रोऽनुकूलः, तदर्थमेव समुपस्थितोऽस्मि ।

मङ्गतरामः—कृपाऽस्ति । तद्भवद्भिरपि प्रथमं पुत्रो दृष्टः स्यात् । वत्स ! आगम्यताम् ।

(आशिषकुमारः प्रविशति)

आशिषकुमारः—पितः ! आगतोऽहम् ।

मङ्गतरामः—वत्स । अयं महानुभावस्त्वया प्रणम्य इति ।

आशिषकुमारः—प्रणमामि भवन्तम् ।

कन्यापालः—वत्स ! चिरञ्जीव !

(मनसि) सुन्दरः, सुशीलः, विनीतश्चायम् समानैवावस्था । तदुचित एव वरः ।

(प्रकाशम्) सम्बन्धिन् ! सन्तुष्टोऽस्मि ।

(पुत्रो निर्गच्छति)

मङ्गतरामः—शोभनं, शोभनमनुगृहीतोऽस्मि । तत्सम्प्रति दैवज्ञस्यैवागमनं परिपालनीयम् ।

(ततः प्रविशति दैवज्ञः)

दैवज्ञः—यजमान ! समुपस्थितोऽहम् ।

उभौ—दैवज्ञ ! प्रणमामि भवन्तम् ।

दैवज्ञः—यजमान ! वीतचिन्तो भव ।

अथ मन्ये सम्बन्धोऽभिमत एव भवतोः कन्यापुत्रयोः ।

उभौ—सम्बन्धस्तु सम्मत एव । केवलं भवतोऽत्र सम्मतिरभ्यर्थिताऽस्ति ।तदियं कुण्डली, ग्रहमेलनेन भवताऽनुमतिः प्रदत्ता स्यात् ।

(उभौ कुण्डलीं प्रयच्छतः)

दैवज्ञः—(एकामेकां कृत्वा पश्यति पुनः सम्मेल्य पश्यति) किं किं तदेवम्। यजमान ! वरकन्ययोः कुण्डल्यां ग्रहस्थितिः, ग्रहमैत्री, तारामैत्री, भकूटं, योनिकूटं, नाडी प्रभृति सर्वमेत्र शोभनम्। किन्तु…।

उभौ– यदि सर्वं सुष्ठु तदा किन्तु-परन्तु किमुच्यते ?

(मीरा प्रविशति)

मीरा—(मनसि) एकतः स्थित्वाश्रृणोमि विवाहविषयकोदन्तम्। तदत्र तिष्ठामि यतः कन्यापित्रा नाऽहं दृष्टा स्यामतोऽत्रैव स्थातव्यम्।

दैवज्ञः—श्रूयताम्—कन्यातावत्,

निकषकनकरेखा राजते सा सुकन्या,

शुभगुणगणसीमाचारुचन्द्राब्जकल्पा।

एवं वरोऽपि—

नयविनयविवेकैर्मण्डितो वै सुदक्षः,

परिणयपरिणेयः कन्यया ते वरोऽसौ ॥१५॥

तस्मात्– *सिद्धान्तं जातकञ्चैव,*

संहिताञ्च विचार्य भोः।

प्रदिशामि विवाहेस्मिन्,

किन्तुर्निष्ठानुमन्यताम् ॥१६॥

कन्यापालः—(मनसि) किञ्चिदनिष्टमिव विवक्षति।

मङ्गतरामः—दैवज्ञ ! अस्पष्टं भवदीयं कथनमस्मान् व्यामोहयतीवास्ति । तत् स्पष्टं कथनीयम् ।

दैवज्ञः—का गतिः, भवतां सम्बन्धाय कथयाम्येव । तच्छ्रोतव्यं भवद्भिः—

कन्याकुण्डल्यां किन्तुनामा ग्रहोऽस्ति यच्छान्तिं विधायैव विवाहः कार्यः ।

कन्यापालः—ननु दैवज्ञ ! कोऽस्ति शान्तिप्रकारः ?

दैवज्ञः—श्रूयताम्—

किन्तुग्रहाणौ प्रथमोऽस्ति कल्पः,

संगोप्य नूनं वरतातहस्ते ।

त्वया प्रदेयाः खलु लक्षमुद्राः,

ततो विवाहो शिवदः कृतः स्यात् ॥१७॥

कन्यापालः—दैवज्ञ किं कथ्यते भवता । ग्रहास्तु नवैव । तदभिनवो ग्रहो भवद्भिः कुतोऽन्विष्टः ! अहं तु वरपितरं युतक-विरुद्धं मत्वा सम्बन्धाय समुपस्थितोऽभूवम् ।

दैवज्ञः—भो, नैतत् युतकम् । ग्रहशान्त्यै तद्देयम् । सद्य एव किन्तु-नामाग्रहोऽन्विष्टोऽभूत् । यदा विवाहानन्तरं वर्षाभ्यन्तरमेव पतिगृहे वधूनां मृत्युरग्निनाऽन्येन वा केनचिल्लघुकारणेन वर्धमानोऽभवत् । तदाऽहं कस्य ग्रहस्यायं परिणाम इति ग्रहान्वेषणे संलग्नोऽभवम् । एवं किन्तुनामाग्रहः अन्विष्टो-ऽभूत् । यजमान ! मम शोधपत्रं निरीक्ष्य ज्योतिर्विश्व-विद्यालयः ससम्मानं डी० लिटित्युपाधिना मां समभिनन्दितवान् ।

मङ्गतरामः—(मनसि) अहो ! महानयं दैवज्ञः सर्वोच्चशोधोपाधिना-ऽलङ्कृत आस्ते ।
(प्रकाशम्) यद्येवम् तदा वरकन्ययोः कल्याणाय लक्षमुद्राः ग्रहीष्ये ।

कन्यापालः—अहो ! विचित्रैव ग्रहः, ग्रहशान्तिप्रकारस्तु विचित्रतमः । (चिन्तयति) ।

मङ्गतरामः—सम्बन्धिन् ! अलं चिन्तितेन । पश्यतु भवान्—

ग्रहाणामायत्तं सकलमपि लोकस्य चरितम्,
ग्रहाधीना सृष्टिः स्थितिरपि तथा संहृतिरपि ।
ध्रुवं तद्दैवज्ञः पठति विधिलेखं बुधवरः,
विधानं तच्छान्त्यै दिशति यदि कार्यं लघु तथा ॥१८॥

कन्यापालः—(मनसि) भो, कुतः लक्षमुद्राः लप्स्यन्ते ? (प्रकाशम्)

सम्बन्धिन् ! योऽहम्—

कन्याधनैर्योऽस्मि कृतो विधात्रा,
धन्यास्पदानां परितर्पहेतुः ।
अद्यैव जाने वरलोकपक्षः,
वित्तेन नूनं परितर्पणीयः ॥१९॥

तत्साधयामि । कमपि भिन्नं दैवज्ञं पृच्छामि ।

(उत्थाय निर्गच्छति)

दैवज्ञः—यजमान ! अहमपि पश्यामि कोऽन्यो दैवज्ञो मम कथनं वितथं कथयति ।

(दैवज्ञोऽपि निर्गच्छति)

मङ्गतरामः—अहं तु दैवज्ञकथितपरिपालनाय स प्रतिज्ञातोऽस्मि। अहह, कन्यापालो गतः, तद्दैवज्ञोऽपि गतः। तत् कथं लक्षमुद्राः लप्स्यन्ते। आह ! किं करोमि ! हा लुण्ठितोऽस्मि। अये भाग्यवति ! कुत्रासि ! त्वरितमायाहि। पिपासाकुलोऽस्मि

मीरा—स्वामिन्, किमस्ति, किमर्थमुद्विग्नोऽस्ति भवान् ! इदानीं पुत्रस्य विवाहाय वार्तालापं कुर्वन्नासीत् तत्किं जातम्।

(प्रविश्य)

अहो ! किमस्ति, वदतु भवान् ! वत्स ! पश्य, कथं करोति तव पिता !

मङ्गतरामः—भाग्यवति ! लक्षशुचाविद्धोऽस्मि।

आशिषकुमारः—पितः ! धारयतु भवान्।

मीरा—वत्स ! चिकित्सक आनेतव्यः।

(प्रविश्य)

चिकित्सकः—नन्वहं चिकित्सकः,

(मङ्गतरामं सम्यक् परीक्षति)

ओम् ! मन्ये, शोकाविद्धोऽयम् ! किम् काचिद्मुद्रायाः चर्चा विघटिता किम् ? यतः परीक्षणेन ज्ञायते धनविषयकहृदय-क्लेशेन पीडितोऽयम्।

मीरा—अस्ति खल्वेवमपि। पुत्रस्य विवाहप्रसङ्गे लक्षमुद्रायाः चर्चाऽस्माभिः श्रुता। मन्ये मुद्रानिमित्तादेव सम्बन्धो भग्नः कन्यापालनामा कन्यापितागतः।

मङ्गतरामः—(श्रुतिं निरूपयन्) भाग्यवति !

किं कथयसि—कन्यापिता आगत इति तन्नूनं दैवज्ञाऽनुमतं लक्षं लप्स्यते ।

चिकित्सकः—भवतु, भवतु । मङ्गतराम ! पुत्रोद्वाहे द्रव्यं नैव ग्राह्यम् ।

मङ्गतरामः—अरे ! अलमुपदेशेन ! नन्वहं याचे । किन्तु किन्तुनामकस्य ग्रहस्य शान्त्यै तु तद्ग्राह्यमेव ।

(चिकित्सकः किमपि यन्त्रं स्पृशन्)

चिकित्सकः—मङ्गतराम, तत्कथय, विवाहः कयारीत्यानुमन्यते भवता ।

मङ्गतरामः—भो, पूर्वमेवोक्तम्, कन्याकुण्डल्यां किन्तुनाम्नो ग्रहस्य सत्ता भवति, तच्छान्त्यै लक्षमुद्रां नीत्वैव विवाहोऽनुमन्स्यते ।

चिकित्सकः—मङ्गतराम ! भवान्, समाजसेवी । तदलं युतकेन ।

मङ्गतरामः—भो ! सेवार्थमेव तदपेक्षितम् ।

चिकित्सकः—मङ्गतराम ! गुप्तचरविभागीयोऽहं निरीक्षकः । स तु तव सहायो दैवज्ञः मया पूर्वमेवनिगृहीतः । इदानीं त्वमपि निगृहीतोऽसि । युतकयाचनदण्डप्रक्रियया दण्ड्यस्त्वम् ।

मङ्गतरामः—(मनसि) अहह ! द्रव्यमपि न लब्धम्, तथा च वैपरीत्यमापतितम् । तत्किं करोमि ?

चिकित्सकः—मङ्गतराम ! आगम्यताम् ।

मङ्गतरामः—वत्स, भाग्यवति, विषमे खलु पतितोऽस्मि । तत्राहं रक्षोपायं पश्यामि ।

आशिषकुमारः—मीरा—निरीक्षकमहोदय ! क्षन्तव्योऽसौ ।

चिकित्सकः—मङ्गतराम, विधिस्त्वां न मोक्षयिष्यति ।

मङ्गतरामः—निरीक्षकमहोदय ! इदानीं भवदाधीनैव मे सम्मानरक्षा । तदर्थं भवदादिष्टं पालयिष्ये ।

(कन्यापालः प्रविश्य)

कन्यापालः—यद्येवं तदा मम पुत्र्याः सम्बन्धः त्वत्पुत्रेण सह सम्पाद्यताम् । अहं भवन्तं बन्धनान्मोक्तुं निरीक्षकं प्रार्थयिष्ये ।

(चिकित्सकः) निरीक्षकः—भवतु । यद्यपि दण्ड्योऽसौ किन्तु भवदनुरोधात् यथा कथञ्चिदेकमवसरं दास्यामि ।

मङ्गतरामः—(हस्तावुत्थाय) भवतु, स्वीकृतोऽसौ सम्बन्धः । न ग्रहीष्ये लक्षमुद्राः (पुत्रं प्रति) वत्स ! त्वमपि तथेत्यनुमन्यस्व ।

आशिषकुमारः—तथास्तु ।

मीरा—निरीक्षकमहोदय ! युतकं विनैव कन्यापालस्य पुत्र्याः विवाहः मम पुत्रेण सहाद्यैव सम्पद्यते । तत्क्षाम्यतु भवान् ।

निरीक्षकः—शोभनम्, गच्छामि, कन्यापाल ! विगतचिन्तो विवाहः सम्पाद्यः । (निर्गच्छति)

मङ्गतरामः—भगवन् !

षड्वर्गदोषपरिदूषितचित्तवृत्तिः,
क्षुद्रो हि जीवनिचयो विषयस्य दासः ।
नूनं त्वदीयकृपयैव विभावितात्मा,
सानन्दमच्युतपदं भजतीति जाने ॥२०॥

कन्यापाल, वत्स, भाग्यवति, विवाहस्य मङ्गलार्थं किन्तु-नाम्नो ग्रहस्य च निवृत्यर्थमिदं प्रार्थयामः ।

सर्वे—तथाऽस्तु । (सर्वे समुत्थाय)

(भरतवाक्यम्)—युतकयाचनतो विरतो जनो,

नवसमाजविधानविचक्षणः ।

जगति गौरवधामगरीयसी,

भवतु भूमिरियं मम भारती ॥२१॥

इति श्री हीरालालपाण्डेयप्रणीतं युतकयाचनं नाम (एकाङ्कि नाटकम्)
नाटकं समाप्तम् ॥

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अस्माकं नूतनानि प्रकाशनानि

मृद्वीका (डॉ० जगन्नाथपाठककृता)

"·····संस्कृतकाव्यपरम्परायां नवीनोऽयमुन्मेष इति मन्ये संस्कृत-भाषा, उषेव पुराणो युवतिः पुरन्धिस्तत एव सम्भवति प्रस्तुतः समाकल्पः। प्रसन्नगम्भीरेयं काव्यकृतिः सहृदयान विस्माययति, यतो हि नाद्यत्वे बहु दृश्यते ईदृक् प्रसाद इयच्चार्थगौरवम्। चित्तद्रुत्यात्मकस्य प्रेमव्यापारस्य वैलक्षण्यं क्षणे क्षणे नवत्वमेव, तत्कविना सञ्चारिवैविध्येनानुभाववैविध्येन वक्रोक्ति-वैविध्येन च सुचारु चित्रितम्।

डॉ० विद्यानिवासमिश्र·
उपकुलपतिः काशी विद्यापीठस्य

श्री परितोषमिश्रविरचिता अजिताख्या तन्त्रवार्त्तिकटीका (प्रथमो भागः) (डॉ० किशोरनाथझा प्रमुखैः सम्पादिता)

"तन्त्रवार्त्तिकं बहुविषयगर्भम्। तस्य न्यायसुधाख्य व्याख्यानमति विस्तृतं प्रसिद्धमेव। परं तु अति विस्तरोऽपि जामितापादकत्वात् नाकर्षति जिज्ञासूनां चेतः। अतः परितोषमिश्रकृता अजिताख्येयं व्याख्या अन्यूनानतिरिक्तविवरणरूपा अवलोकनमात्रेण सुमनसां मनः प्रह्लादयति। प्रतिपृष्ठं दर्शं दर्शं महान्तमानन्दमनुभवामि सम्पादकमहोदयैः महता अवधानेन सम्पादितोऽयं ग्रन्थः। अयं ग्रन्थः आलस्यमनापादयन् वार्त्तिकतात्पर्यावगमे नितरामुपकरोति। अक्षराणि सुदर्शनानि मुद्रणद्रोषः अन्विष्यमाणोऽपि नोपलभ्यते। पत्राणि समीचीनानि बन्धनं सुचारु। एकैकस्यापि विदुषः अलङ्काररूपोऽयं ग्रन्थो भविष्यति।

चिरात् सुषुप्तिमनुभूतवतोऽस्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशपथे आनयनं कृतवतः सम्पादकान् प्रकाशकांश्च हृदयपूर्वकमभिनन्दामि"।

एन० एस० रामानुजताताचार्यः
प्राचार्यः, तिरुपतिकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठस्य

पंजाबी-संस्कृत-शब्दकोश (डा० शिवकुमार मिश्र आदि द्वारा सम्पादित)

"पंजाबी की संस्कृतमूलकता कोई नई बात नहीं है। किन्तु जिस वैज्ञानिक शैली में इस कोश के माध्यम से इस सनातन सत्य का बोध कराया गया है वह अपने आप में अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण है।"

डॉ० रामकरण शर्मा
दिल्ली।

"This is a praiseworthy attempt in regard to simplification of Sanskrit teaching specially to learners of Sanskrit having Punjabi as their mother tongue. The book consists of those Sanskrit words which are still in use both in spoken as well as in written Punjabi language."

Dr. Sri Vidhata

Prof. and Head, Deptt. of Grammar and Linguistics, Kameshwer Singh Darbhanga Sanskrit University, Darbhanga.